RAMA-LEGENDS AND RAMA-RELIEFS IN INDONESIA

WILLEM STUTTERHEIM

VOL. I







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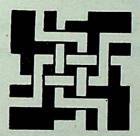
RĀMA-LEGENDS AND RĀMA-RELIEFS IN INDONESIA

WILLEM STUTTERHEIM

Translated from German into English by
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Prologue by KAPILA VATSYAYAN

Edited with a preface by LOKESH CHANDRA



INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL CENTRE FOR ARTS, NEW DELHI INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE, NEW DELHI

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LOKESH CHANDRA

आचार्य -रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां

(मारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-स्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-मरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

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PROLOGUE

I am honoured that Dr. Lokesh Chandra should request me to write a prologue to this volume of Rama-Legends and Rama-Reliefs in Indonesia by Willem Stutterheim.

This gives me an opportunity to place the publication of the translation of the work of the great savant Stutterheim from German to English, within the framework of the

concept, plan and programmes of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts.

The Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts was established in November 1985 to commemorate the memory of Smt. Indira Gandhi. It will strive to concretise through its plans and programmes, the global vision of the person in whose name this Centre is established. Smt. Indira Gandhi's unique towering personality reached out to other lands and cultures as much as it paid attention to the roots of its own culture. Her concern was as much for the ancient past and the brotherhood of civilizations and cultures as it was for the present all with the single objective to create a new brotherhood of man transcending narrow barriers of race, colour, religion or even nation states. Time and again she focussed attention on this, our earth comprising a community of life systems each inter-webbed, mutually interdependent and inter-related. The parts were interlocked to constitute the

Logically in disciplines, her sweep extended from the fundamental sciences and technology to humanities and the arts. The Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts in its conception and its programmes has been guided by this vision, always remembering that the arts are a part of a larger whole; be it at the level of vision or conception or national genius or historical processes or technology or skill. The logos of the Centre symbolises this vision, the inter-twined Svastika is an universal solar symbol known to many ancient civilizations ranging from Greece to China and widely present in contemporary India at all levels of society. The four divisions of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts have an autonomy at one level but are interlocked in their programmes with one another. Indeed work in one unit will complement work in the others. The phased programmes in the Centre have been drawn up in a manner that there is a balance between an outer reach and an inner reflection. Fundamental to the conception of the Centre is the establishment of its first division called the Indira Gandhi Kala Nidhi which it is hoped in time will serve as the most important resource Centre for the Asian regions.

The second division called the Indira Gandhi Kala Kosha, has a fourfold programme of research and publication. The first is the evolution of glossaries and technical terminologies common to all the arts; the second a series of fundamental texts on the arts hitherto either unpublished or out of print; the third a reprint series of secondary material, i.e. works of scholars not available in the English language or out of print; and the fourth a

long range programme of an encyclopaedia on the arts.

The brief outline of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts was necessary for a proper appreciation of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts selecting this particular title as the very first publication in its series of reprints for translations of classical works

not so far available in the English language.

As is universally recognised, Stutterheim will long remain as the great towering figure of the early 20th century, who in his brief life span displayed a perception into the Indonesian monuments which has been hard to excel. Although coming in the wake of the great French and Dutch scholars, he not only held his own but argued and debated convincingly with his peers such as the late Prof. Brandes, Krom, Bosch and others.

The work first published in 1925 in the series Der Indische Kulturkreis in Einzeldarstellungen has been considered a classic, but has not been alas easily accessible to the English reading. Also, for long, the work has been out of print. With the publication of the English translation many new vistas of exploration will immediately open up. It is

remarkable that despite the paucity of published material, the comparative absence of structural linguistic models for the study of languages and theoretical paradigms, the late Professor Stutterheim employs the tools of structural linguistic analysis, comparative literature, and historical reconstruction. This is a far more challenging task than descriptive archaeology and stylistic analysis. Fundamental to this is his ability to corelate and revaluate the relationship between the written texts and oral transmission. While all this is very familiar to contemporary scholarship, a reading of this monograph convinces one that Professor Stutterheim anticipated modern scholarship by many decades. His concern was not restricted to the archaeological features of this group of temples but went much further into interpretation and identification of the historical processes of acculturization, diffusion and autochthonous tendencies. Alongwith the late Professor D.C. Sen, he may be considered the first scholar to draw attention to the role of the oral enunciation of the Rama Legends in different parts of Asia. In this monograph he forcefully argues that Valmīki's Ramayana was not the basis of the Indonesian versions and disagrees with the hypothesis that Kamban provided a model or even that Hanuman-nāţaka was the original source. He comes to the interesting conclusion that perhaps Gujarat was the source. Much has been written on the subject during the past few decades, however, Professor Stutterheim's argument remains fresh. Perhaps scholars will now want to re-explore the sources of the Gujarati version of the Ramayana as also the Panji stories of Java.

The monograph will also stimulate discussion on a most contemporary concern, i.e. the relationship of the text and the image: the adherence, the interpretations and the deviations. Of late many art historians have been concerned in their respective ways to analyse the interface of text and image. The monograph is of immediate contemporary

relevance as a theoretical model for modern scholarship.

The painstaking work of presenting the different versions of the Malay and Javanese Ramayana and the comparative descriptions of the panels on the Siva temple in Prambanan with those of Panataran in eastern Java will provide the basis of stylistic analysis. Prof. Stutterheim was also one of the first scholars to identify the relationship of the tradition of Wayang and the sculptural reliefs. In this respect also he anticipated modern scholarship. The section on the Rama panels of Deogarh, the earliest in India will also be welcome.

For all these reasons, it is only appropriate that the first publication of the Indira Gandhi Kala Kosha should revolve around the eternal theme of Rama depicted in Indonesia

written in German and translated into English by Indians.

Dr. Lokesh Chandra has been devoted, like his illustrious father Prof. RaghuVira, in collecting primary material on the Asian traditions in their complex ramifications of texts, manuscripts, paintings and artifacts. Through the publication programme of the International Academy of Indian Culture, valuable material hitherto totally unknown has been brought to light. The translation by Dr. C. D. Paliwal and Dr. R. P. Jain of the Rama-Legends and Rama-Reliefs alongwith the scholarly critical preface by Dr. Lokesh Chandra which updates and fills the gaps, will no doubt, be a valuable addition to the critical literature in English relating to this unique monument of the Lara Jongran group of temples account not only of the placement of the reliefs in the Siva temple but also the reliefs on the Brahmā temple.

We are grateful to Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Dr. C. D. Paliwal and Dr. R. P. Jain of the Jawaharlal Nehru University for providing the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts an opportunity to print this work as the first volume in its reprint series of the Indira Gandhi Kala Kosha.

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

PREFACE

In the smiling fields of the village Prambanan, in the harmony of man's spirit with the spirit of nature rises the immensity of the sky-kissing temple of Siva. The central spire of the main temple of Siva holds the viewer in its enthralling height of over 140 feet, as if sprung from immortal life, a life that is immense (prano virat). The entire complex of Prambanan comprises 8 temples in the inner courtyard and 224 parivara temples—a marvellous architectonic composition, reminding you of an unknown master sitting in an ancient morning to weave the trembling melodies of meditation into the permanence of stone. Built at the beginning of the tenth century by king Balitun(?), it lost its splendor, as the royal residence moved to East Java. After centuries of neglect, the temples collapsed in an earthquake about 1549 A.D. Ever since this marvel has lived in the lyric of legend, recounted by endless generations of simple peasant folk.

The legend goes that Bandun Bondovoso, the son of the sorcerer Damar Moyo (Māyācandra), was engaged by the king of Pengin to kill Ratu Boko, the giant king, who wished to marry his adopted son to the beautiful daughter of the king. Aided by the magic of his father, Bondovoso attacked the giant army and finally killed Ratu Boko, by heaving him bodily into a lake, where he was drowned. As a reward the king of Pengin made Bondovoso his regent in the territories of Ratu Boko. Now Ratu Boko had a pretty daughter named Loro Jongran and Bondovoso aspired to her hand. She knew him for the slayer of her father, and fearing to refuse him outright, tried to put him off by imposing an impossible task as the price of her hand. Bondovoso must dig within one day six deep wells in six great buildings, the like of which no mortal eye had ever seen, decorated with a thousand images of the kings and legendary rulers of Prambanan. Bondovoso, the son of the sorcerer had no difficulty in summoning sufficient gnomes to do the work and towards daybreak the task was almost finished. By a little magic of her own, Loro Jongran succeeded in preventing the placing of the thousandth statue, only nine hundred and ninety-nine being present, when the cock crowed and the time was up. Bondovoso was furious with frustration, and lacking one statue of a ruler of Prambanan, he thundered out that the daughter of a ruler would do as well, pronouncing a curse on Loro Jongran and changed her into stone. So is the legend about the establishment of the temple complex of Prambanan, which is called the Candi Loro Jongran.

The aforesaid legend about the thousand images makes us surmise that the 224 parivara temples must have held four images each, that is 896 images in all. These images may have been metallic, as those at Candi Sevu. The 240 chapels of the Candi Sevu also

held 960 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (240 × 4 = 960). The thousand images of Candi Loro Jongran may tentatively be accounted for as follows:

Siva temple (Siva, Guru, Ganesa, Durgā)	4	images
Mahakāla and Nandīsvara	2	"
	24	>>
Dikpālas Dancing figures of Tāṇḍava	62	"
Visnu temple	1	"
Brahmā temple	1	37
Vahana temples	3	***
Parivara temples (224 X 4 images)	896	,,,
The two Candi Apit (2 × 4 images)	8_	";
	1001	"

The above enumeration is open to consideration and consequently subject to change, when an agama text can be found that goes with the temple. The appropriate identification of the 24 dikpalas and the characteristics of the eight main dikpalas may provide a key to the concerned agama or silpa text, on which the parivara of Siva of our Candi is based. As evident prima facie, the number thousand is derived from the Vajradhātu mandala of Candi Sevu. The number thousand was specific to the main mahāmandala of the Vajradhātu system. As a palladium of the state, the Vajradhātu mahāmandala was the temple of the kingdom, and as such its power had to be thousandfold. In the Hellenic world too, the safety of Troy was held to depend on the palladium which was the image of Pallas. Candi Prambanan seems to have closely followed the Buddhist Candi Sevu where Vairocana, as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin, was intended to consecrate and stabilise the sovereignty of the dynasty.

The number thousand played a pre-eminent role in the stability of the state. The English word thousand has the base teu: tu 'great': Sanskrit tavas 'strong, energetic, courageous' (from the root tu) and hundred. It can be seen in Old Norse thūs-hund, Old Frankish thus-chunde, as the 'great hundred'. Thousand was the power, strength, might, sturdiness, durability, the enduring and lasting attribute of the state. Thus the thousand statues of the Candi Prambanan must have been erected to sanctify the continuity of power, to vitalise enduring safeguards: dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ. The security of the state was so vital and fundamental in India that it was apotheosised in the Sahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands, with an eye on each palm. The thousand (sahasra) eyes refer to the powerful (sahas 'power') intelligence apparatus of the state. The Sanskrit adage goes: cāra-cakṣuṣo rājānaḥ 'the eyes of a king are his spies', the effectiveness of the state is its intelligence system. Constant, thousand-fold vigilance is the continuing price of stability. The information thus obtained has to be activated by an equally potent administrative machinery. The thousand (sahas-ra) arms or hands are the powerful (sahas)

and all-pervading action of the state. Royal residence shifted from Central to East Java around A.D. 930, not too long after the completion of Candi Prambanan. The shifting of the scat of power indicates an assumed or a real threat of insecurity, and it only goes to enforce the presumption that the primary motivation for the construction of the Prambanan complex was to secure the state which it did achieve for a time, whose span depends on the date of the construction of the temple complex.

The number 'thousand' has played a central role in the Buddhist Welt-anschauung of the state. Harihara the symbol of the state became the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara. In this process he lost all his original attributes of Harihara, which were substituted by a thousand arms. The Chinese hymner to the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara have preserved the attributes of Harihara: the two faces of Varaha and Narasimha, lotus, vajra (gadā of Hari is replaced by vajra), cakra and conch in the four hands pertain to the Hari aspect. The Hara aspect is represented by blue complexion, epithets like Niścareśvara-Sthanviśvara, a black serpent as the sacred thread, Tripuradahana or the destroyer of the three cities, holder of poison, the fury of His unique laughter attahāsa, siddha-yogiśvara. In the images these characteristics have been abandoned and only the thousand arms remain. That the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara bestowed the mega-power of the state is clear from Amoghavajra's ritual according to the yoga-tantras (Taishō Tripitaka 1056) which prays: sīghram vaśam me rāṣṭram sarājakam kuru sahasra-bhuja sahasra-vīra Lokeśvara. Likewise the Vajradhātu manḍala of the Buddhist Canḍi Sevu (sevu = 1000) conditioned the conceptualisation of Canḍi Prambanan as a complex of Thousand statues.

Legend associates the foundation of Candi Prambanan with Ratu Boko. The Ratu Boko inscription of Saka 714 (= A.D. 792/3) is dedicated to Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara and also to Abhayagiri monastery which was a seat of Vajrayāna at the end of the eighth century. As a centre of Vajrayāna, the Vajradhātu mandala must have, naturally, played a central role.

Candi Loro Jongran has ever been the pride of the Indonesians who to this very day proclaim that even in this modern time, no nation can match the skill such as we see at Prambanan. Since 1918 the Archaeological Service of Indonesia has been busy restoring the colossal central temple of Siva by the system of anastylosis, where each and every stone that is lying fallen near the temple or has been carried away by the village folk has to be collected, photographed and jigsawed into its appropriate placement by a painstaking and thorough study of the joinings, chisel-marks, the depicted legends and stylistic patterns. By December 1953 the reconstruction of the main Siva temple was completed—a marvel of archaeological engineering.

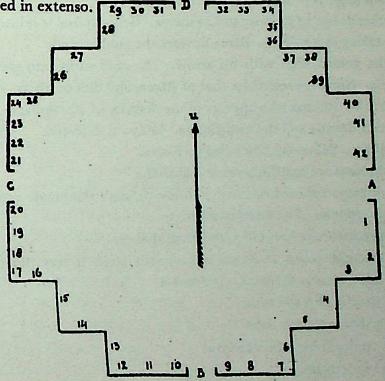
In the Prambanan complex Hindu-Javanese art reached the culmination of its florescence. In largeness of conception and daring in composition it surpassed all former

creations. The 224 parivara temples reach an imposing height of 45 feet each and may represent the 224 universes of the cosmological system of the Saiva Siddhanta. While these peripheral temples may correspond to the Cakravada peaks, the eight temples in the inner court may be the eight pinnacles of the Manasa mountain. Though a precise interpretation awaits research, it is certain that the temples and sub-temples reflect the cosmography of intuition, the symbolisation of the infinite possibilities of experience lying in the depths of our subconscious whereby we may cross over the world of time and form. Winding through the sub-temples architecturing the manifoldness of the inner world, the visitor moves on into the unity of primordial consciousness symbolised in Siva in the central temple. It is like a journey along the spiritual path away from the world of space and time to the timeless omnipresence of cosmic consciousness. There we stood in front of the statue of Siva, towering over us and over the moulds of time and space. In the soft transparency of the twilight of this sanctum sanctorum, we could feel the music of Sanskrit stotras sung centuries ago. As I myself recited a Sanskrit śloka, it resounded back sinking into the deeps of a mysterious wellspring of spiritual strata. The accoustics of the soaring spire, enriched by the melodies of a millenium, has a lyrical way of growing on you. There I stood in the eternal serenity of the statue of Lord Siva, consubstantiated in Supreme Vision, me and my Siva alone -- तदावशिष्टः शिवः केवलोऽहं, शिवः केवलोऽहम ।

There is no work in English on this great sanctum, except an introductory presentation by A. J. Bernet Kempers in his Ancient Indonesian Art (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959: 58-62) in the description of plates. The guide books available at the site are sketchy, and are irrelevant for any serious understanding. The only detailed study of the monument is by Willem Stutterheim, entitled Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien, published in 1925, in the series Der Indische Kulturkreis, edited by Karl Döhring. Though long since dated, it remains the only authoritative work on Candi Loro Jongran, especially its reliefs of the Ramayana. As the work was written in German, it has remained inaccessible to the anglophone world, more so to Indian scholarship. The identification of the reliefs and the several doubts that beset these identifications have been unresolved for the last sixty years. The publication of an English rendering will bring to the fore, once again, the many problems that await further research, necessitated by unprecedented progress made during the last half-a-century. The Ramayana reliefs themselves call for a fresh study, after the Old Javanese Ramayana Kakavin has been critically edited, annotated and translated into English by Soewito Santoso and published in the Satapitaka Series edited by the undersigned. The interrelationship of the reliefs on the Candi with other versions in Javanese and Sanskrit as well as folk versions in India and Indonesia, discovered and published since 1925, is bound to shed new light. A detailed study of the monument itself, besides numerous non-Ramayana reliefs on the Siva temple will reveal new insights into its general milieu, the silpa tradition it follows and the themes

illustrated on its exterior, for instance, the 62 panels with dancing figures on the outside of the railing, or the 24 panels with Dikpālas. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw identified them with eight dikpalas, each in a benevolent and angry form(?), with eight panels not accounted for. In Japan, there are Twelve Devas or Juni-ten: Indra (E), Agni (SE), Yama (S), Nirrti (SW), Varuna (W), Vayu (NW), Vaisravana/Kubera (N), Isana (NW), Brahma (zenith), Prthvī (nadir), Sūrya and Candra. Are the 24 dikpālas these twelve in variations of two each. The other possibility is again provided by the Japanese tradition where each dikpala is accompanied by two attendants. If this be any clue, then the 24 panels can be eight dikpālas with two attendants each (8 X 3 =24). The entire question needs to be reopened and carefully compared with the Japanese paintings in the Treasure Repository of the Toji monastery at Kyoto, on which the Kyoto National Museum has published two large volumes in 1976 entitled Kokuhō-jūniten-gazō, with sumptuous illustrations, accompanied by details of the crucial portions of the paintings. The volumes have English résumés. The entire monument Candi Loro Jongran and hundreds of its reliefs deserve a fresh look, more so as a number of reliefs have never been identified. This rendering presents the process of identification, and a lively discursive approach to the problems of recognition of the scenes and even of constituent elements, and the thoughtful, reflective style of Stutterheim makes it a challenge that summons daring minds to delve into its unrevealed secrets.

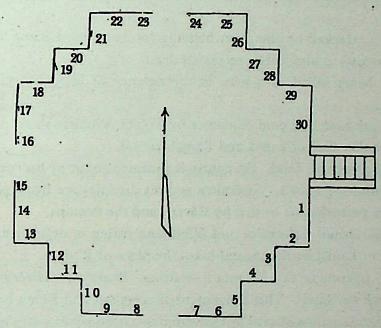
Kaelan, in his A Short Guide to the Lara Djonggrang Temple Group, has identified 42 panels of the Rāmāyaṇa on the balustrade of the Siva temple. His explanations of the 42 reliefs are quoted in extenso. 23 30 31 D 32 33 34



- 1. Five deities are lamenting before Vișnu,
- 2. Bhagavan Viśvamitra appears before the court of king Dasaratha and his queen at Ayodhya.
- 3. King Dasaratha is greeting Bhagavan Viśvamitra.
- 4. Rāma kills the demoness Tāṭakā.
- 5. They all go to Viśvāmitra's hermitage. The hermits are making a sacrifice. Rāma kills the demons.
- 6. Viśvāmitra, Laksmana, Rāma and king Janaka. Rāma is bending the bow.
- 7. After the wedding ceremony, Rama and Laksmana return to Ayodhya. Rama meets Parasurāma.
- 8. Rāma is able to bend Parasurāma's bow.
- 9. Daśaratha wishes to crown Rama, while Kaikeyi opposes Daśaratha.
- 10. The accession of king Bharata with a dancing festival.
- 11. Daśaratha and Kausalyā are distressed, being left by Rāma.
- 12. Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana are leaving the capital.
- 13. Preparations for the cremation of Dasaratha's corpse. Kausalyā and Bharata are distributing donations.
- 14. Bharata is following Rama: Rama not willing to return, bestows his footwears.
- 15. Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana are in the jungle. Rāma and Laksmana are fighting against Virada.
- 16. Rama, Sitā and the crow's affair.
- 17. Demoness Śūrpanakā is proposing to Rāma.
- 18. Rama recommends her to propose to Laksmana. Her proposal is refused.
- 19. Lakşmana is taking care of Sītā. Rāma pursues the golden hind.
- 20. Rāma kills the golden hind with his arrow. The hind turns into giant Mārīca, who shouts for help. His voice resembles that of Rama, and Sita overhears it.
- 21. Sītā is abducted by Rāvaņa who appears in the disguise of a brāhmaņa.
- 22. A fight between Ravana and the bird Jatayu. Jatayu is defeated.
- 23. The dying Jatāyu is delivering Sītā's ring to Rāma.
- 24. Rāma and Laksmaņa are fighting against Kabandha.
- 25. Rama and Laksmana proceed on their journey through the jungle and meet a crocodile, the metamorphosis of a cursed nymph.
- 26. Rāma and Laksmaņa meet Hanumān, the king of apes.
- 27. Laksmana gives some water to Rama, because the latter is very thirsty. In fact, he gives Rāma Sugrīva's tears. Rāma meets Sugrīva.
- 28. Kama is demonstrating his strength.
- 29. Sugrīva is engaged in war with Subāli.
- 30. Subali is struck to death by Rama's arrow.
- 34. Sugrīva becomes king again.

- 32. Rama, Laksmana and Sugriva are in consultation.
- 33. They are discussing strategies.
- 34. Sugrīva requests Rāma to order all commanders-in-chief of the hosts of monkeys.
- 35. A court-woman tells Sītā and Trijaṭā that there is an ape hiding in the flower-garden.
- 36. Hanuman appears before Sita
- 37. Hanuman is captured and condemned: his tail is to be burnt.
- 38. Hanuman's tail is swathed with rags and set on fire. He escapes and sets the whole town of Lanka on fire.
- 39. Hanumān appears before Rāma, and tells all his experiences in Lankā.
- 40. Rama is angry with Varuna (the sea-god). Varuna speedily appears before Rama.
- 41. The construction of the bridge which connects India and Lanka.
- 42. Rāma, Sugrīva and troops of apes are marching over the bridge to Lanka.

Stutterheim could not deal with the reliefs of the Ramayana on the Brahma temple sculpted on the inner side of the balustrade. They are thirty reliefs as detailed by Kaelan (1963:30-36). They are arranged as shown in the plan below:



The scenes depicted in the 30 panels have been described by Kaelan as follows:

- Arriving in Lanka, Rama, Laksmana, Visvamitra and Sugriva are in deliberation to settle strategies and to take decisive steps. Suddenly, Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's younger brother appears before Rama, surrenders and takes oath not to assist Ravana.
- 2. Rāma sends an envoy to Rāvaņa to regain Sītā.
- Angada, the ape-envoy, is captured by Ravana's army and brought before the king. 3. By Ravana's order, the envoy's ear is cut off and sent back.
- Coming back from Lanka, the envoy, who has lost his ear and is daubed with blood,

- tells his experiences in the court of Ravana. Rama feels highly offended and challenged by such a treatment. Troops of apes fully armed are mobilized for war against Ravana.
- 5. Hanuman, Laksmana, Sugrīva, Rama and Visvamitra are departing to the battle-field.
- 6. Behind the cloud, Indrajit, the crown-prince of Lanka, is shooting his chain-arrow at Rama and Laksmana. The arrow in the shape of a snake is winding round the two heroes, so that they become powerless. Meanwhile, an eagle dropping from the sky, comes to the rescue. He swallows the snake, and the two heroes are delivered from danger.
- Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa rush into the battle-field and are engaged in war with the demon army under Rāvaṇa's leadership. Rāvaṇa is riding the flying chariot.
- 8. Kumbhakarna, Rāvana's younger brother, who is sleeping soundly, ought to be commander-in-chief, leading the demon-army, because all commanders-in-chief of Lankā have been killed in the battle-field. It's only after great efforts and difficulties that he can be waken up. When he gets up, as a hero, he starts to the battle-field, but with his oath not to assist Rāvana, his sinful brother; he merely fights in the defence of his country.
- 9. Kumbhakarna is attacked by the overwhelming forces of apes; Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa shooting their arrows at him, till he meets his death.
- 10. Kumbhakarna, being killed as a hero in the defence of his country, his corpse is consecrated.
- 11. Sītā, sitting in the garden, is paid deference by Trijaṭā, Vibhīṣaṇa's sister who intimates her about the downfall of Lankā and Rāma's arrival.
- 12. Ravana killed in the battle-field. His corpse is swarmed about by his concubines.
- 13. After the downfall of Lanka, Viśvamitra and his disciples are living peacefully, and there is no more perturbation caused by Ravana and the demons.
- 14. Rāma meets Sītā again; Lakṣmaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa sitting in deference. Vibhīṣaṇa is appointed king of Lankā by Rāma, and takes the place of Rāvaṇa.
- 15. Rāma and Sītā, Laksmana and Bharata in waiting. Bharata is delivering the kingdom of Ayodhyā back to Rāma. This assignment is accepted and Rāma becomes king of Ayodhyā. Under Rāma's wise and just government, it becomes a strong, peaceful and prosperous country.
- 16. Rāma sitting on the throne with Sītā. Sītā's pregnancy arouses Rāma's suspicion concerning chastity during her stay in Lankā. He secretly orders Laksmana to exile her to the forest.
- 17. Sītā and Laksmana riding in a carriage on their way to the forest. Laksmana tells Sītā that he is ordered to accompany her in her excursion to the forest.
- 18. Arriving in the forest, Laksmana tells Sītā the real facts. He has to execute Rāma's order and leave her behind. Sītā is quite distressed.

- 19. After being left alone Sītā lives all by herself in the forest among all kinds of fierce animals.
- 20. She meets a hermit who is willing to take care of her.
- 21. In the forest Sitā gives birth to two babies, named Kuśa and Lava. (In the reliefs only one baby is perceptible).
- 22. A ceremony in connection with the birth of the two babies is taking place in the hermitage; the guests are perceptibly jesting with each other. They are noblemen from far-off countries to bless the babies, wishing them to be exemplary noblemen.
- 23. Sîtā and her children looking for fruits in the forest, are brought back to the hermitage.
- 24. In their age of puberty, Lava and Kuśa enthusiastically train themselves in sham fights in order to be skilled in the use of bow and arrow.
- 25. In the end Sītā dies in the hermitage. Lava and Kuśa are in mourning. Under the instruction of Mpu Vālmīki they go to find their father in the kingdom of Ayodhyā. They are to disguise as actors and sing the vīracarita before the court. The vīracarita contains Rāma's biography, i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa in verse composed by Mpu Vālmīki.
- 26. Lava and Kusa are on their journey to Ayodhyā which happens to be celebrating the asvamedha. (In the relief only one of the two is perceptible).
- 27. Arriving in Ayodhyā and having sung the Rāmāyana Lava and Kuśa are summoned before the court. Rāma being much surprised, asks them about their origin, and how they know about Rāma's life-story.
- 28. The hermit appears before Rāma and tells him about Sītā's circumstances and her life in exile, and about the two young men, who are actually Rāma's own sons.
- 29. On hearing this, Rāma's mind is overwhelmed with violent remorse, and to expiate his sin, he renounces the throne, and appoints his two sons king and crown-prince. Then Rāma secludes himself from society and goes to mount Mahāmeru to become a hermit.
- 30. On the accession of Lava and Kusa as king and crown-prince, a festival is taking place at the court of Ayodhya, attended by brahmans and hermits.

Stutterheim has fascinated me for two decades. His researches on the interpretation of the name, form and meaning of the Barabudur or the decipherment of the copper plate with a Middle-Javanese inscription and line-drawing of a goddess have attracted me in particular. I have re-interpreted the studies of Stutterheim both on the Barabudur and the copperplate, and arrived at conclusions that are quite different from his. His interpretation (W. F. Stutterheim, Studies in Indonesian Archaeology, The Hague, 1956:35) of codex A of the San hyan Kamahāyānikan (SHK) is engaging my attention these days. It relates to the equation of the body with stūpa-prāsāda. This has necessitated the re-edition of the second portion of Kats' SHK, entitled Advaya-sādhana in the colophon of codex B. Just as

the pioneering scientific oeuvre of Stutterheim has provoked me into re-examination and and re-interpretation, I am confident that likewise the Ramayana reliefs of Candi Loro Jongran will also stimulate enquiry by other scholars.

I am grateful to Dr. C. D. Paliwal, Associate Professor in the department of Indonesian Studies, and to Dr. R. P. Jain, Associate Professor in the department of German Studies, both of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for their kindly undertaking the arduous task of rendering the magnum opus of Stutterheim from German into English. Their sustained efforts make the painstaking and penetrating researches of Stutterheim accessible to a wide world of learning. The spellings have been changed to conform to Indic norms: tj=c (tjandi=candi), dj=j (radja=raja), etc. The page numbers of the original German edition have been retained in the rendering, so that one can find any reference in earlier research literature in the present English version. The translators have followed a golden mean in rendering the meaning rather than a verbatim adherence to German. The present English version is envisaged as a catalyst to initiate studies on the Prambanan complex, which should stimulate inquisitive minds.

Lokesh Chandra

WILLEM FREDERIK STUTTERHEIM (1892-1942)

W.F. Stutterheim was born on 27th September 1892 at Rotterdam in Holland, where he went to secondary school and spent his early youth. Later he studied at Utrecht for three years. He took Art, History and Dutch Literature as major subjects but he could not complete his degree, because on the outbreak of World War I he had to go to the battlefield. The War ended in 1918 and he started studying Indology-Indian Literature and Languages—at the University of Leiden. He followed various courses and became an alumnus of the Leiden University. In the year 1924 he was conferred the degree of the Doctor of Aryan Letters. He wrote his doctoral thesis in German dealing with Ramalegends and Rama-reliefs in Indonesia (Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien). Fortunately, Aryan Letters Studies had been instituted at the University of Leiden in 1921. It was a form of philological studies. Its main objective was to enable students to devote themselves fully to the study of Sanskrit and other allied subjects such as Indo-Javanese Archaeology, Avestan, as well as Indian Culture and Archaeology. Its curriculum was fashioned to offer an opportunity to those deserving students who desired to join the Archaeological Service of the Netherlands Indies. In fact, Stutterheim was fortunate to be the first scholar to avail of this opportunity. Later many Dutch and Indonesian students benefitted by this opportunity. Some of them are still employed in the Archaeological Service and others have devoted themselves to educational activities in Indonesia.

Stutterheim followed intensive courses on Indian and Indonesian studies. The guide for his thesis was Professor N.J. Krom. After the award of the doctorate in 1924, his thesis Rama-legenden und Rama-reliefs in Indonesien was published tastefully. Thereafter, he was appointed an Assistant in the Archaeological Service of the Netherlands Indies, a profession he loved so dearly. Later he was appointed Director of Eastern Classical Studies in the Department of Education. In fact, Stutterheim was the first director of this institution. His deep scholarship and great enthusiasm contributed a lot to the success of this institution. It was a government institution which was established in 1909 to create an interest among and inspire Indonesians in the field of languages and literatures. It introduced a scheme of publication of literary works, such as short stories and novels etc. in Malay as well as in Javanese and Sundanese languages. It had a programme of translation from the great works in Dutch and French into Indonesian languages. This institution was established in Surakarta, Central Java, for the appropriate education of young Javanese students and students from the other regions of Indonesia. Stutterheim accepted to head this institution on condition that he would continue to remain active in contributing to the field of Indonesian archaeology. During his vacations in the famous Hindu island of Bali he conducted a survey of the island. He visited the monuments of Java which were not so well known and not so properly evaluated. He also took up excavations of the archaeological sites on the island of Java and published his findings in a methodical manner. He stayed in Surakarta (Solo) and later in Yogyakarta where to the Department of the AMS Eastern Classical Studies had been shifted. His stay in Central Java was a blessing in disguise as it provided him an opportunity to come into close contact with Indonesian culture. It was a major representation of Indonesia's culture, being the location of the Javanese palaces of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Here he attended important festivals, got the best of opportunities to observe Javanese traditions from a close quarter, which naturally broadened his outlook and also made him extremely knowledgeable. He became very friendly with Mangkunegara VII as both of them shared common interests of Javanese antiquity which had become a perennial source of inspiration to them. After working as the Director of the Institute for about a decade Stutterheim was appointed as the Chief of the Archaeological Service of the Netherlands Indies in 1936 when F.D.K. Bosch returned to the Netherlands. He worked there till the Japanese occupation of Indonesia in 1942 which brought to an end his various activities in a tragic manner. He was taken prisoner in 1942 and was brought to Central Java. After a few months he was set free, in order to give proper advice to the Japanese authorities on the further restoration of the great Buddhist monument of Central Java, Borobudur, which according to the Japanese authorities was extremely urgent. Shortly afterwards, on September 10, 1942 he died of brain hemorrhage, at the early age of 50 years.

Stutterheim had started his career when he was 32 and he continuously contributed for a period of less than two decades. It speaks of his untiring energy and great enthusiasm that he could achieve so much in such a short span of time. He earned high distinction not only in the field of scientific investigations but also in the artistic and aesthetic field. He could play the piano well and loved the music of Bach. He had a great talent for painting and drawing. He loved literature and had a keen sense of humour. For his friends he was a lovable person because of his humor, conversation and literary bent of mind. He disagreed with his predecessors in various ways, but he always introduced new interpretations, breaking fresh ground. He objective was not to criticise a person but to put forth new ideas. At times he used his imagination in a big way to come out with many new hypotheses which were not always very convincing. Thus some persons could not appreciate his approach because they felt that he was not presenting himself in a modest way, but was imposing himself upon others. It may also be mentioned here that he was presenting all with the utmost care and humility, but it appeared otherwise because of his over-enthusiasm, and his relentless striving to achieve more and more, and something ever new.

Some scholars were of the opinion that the Javanese people had misinterpreted the Indian epics and stories in shadow plays (wayang) but Stutterheim justified the deviations as traditional local shades. He clearly showed that some of the local elements were found worthy of being depicted in Prambanan on the Siva temple of the Lara Jongran complex.

In fact that is the subject dealt with in the first part of his thesis. In the second part he analysed the Rāma reliefs of Candi Panataran, which though much younger, was an important monument in East Java as an adaptation of Indian culture by the Javanese people. This subject always kept him busy, and he was trying to judge Hindu-Javanese Art in its proper perspective, especially its strong old traditional Javanese cultural elements. In Central Java we find the Hindu cultural impact in a very big way, but later in East Java the local elements became more dominant. His predecessors, like Brandes, took the Indian classical art forms as the yardsticks, so naturally they thought that the Central Javanese art was superior and the East Javanese art showed signs of degeneration. But Stutterheim gave sound reasons to defend his argument in favour of East Javanese art forms because the art of East Java reflects the Javanese soul in the real sense of the term. This thinking always preoccupied him about the development of Hindu-Javanese art. In this framework he also looked at the images in the Javanese temples as the representation of deceased Javanese kings, their meaning for worship, their place in history and in the development of Indonesian art. With this idea in mind, he studied Indonesian epigraphy, iconography, architecture and sculpture to analyse and present their interpretation. He tried to analyse the changes and developments from the point of view that they had come about from the pre-animistic magical, mystical background of the Javanese people. It is a pity that because of his untimely demise he could not assimilate them into a compact presentation. Still his work gave a new direction and dimension to the study of Hindu-Javanese art and culture in Dvīpāntara.

His studies on other monuments are also noteworthy such as on the Buddhist Borobudur, which threw new light and gave a new interpretation of the great monument.

Stutterheim also wrote on A Javanese period in Sumatran History (Solo 1929) in which he discusses the relationship between Java and Sumatra (Śrīvijaya). Apart from this, he contributed valuable research articles on various subjects. Here a separate mention has also to be made of his iconographic studies which contributed to further studies on East Javanese art forms. He looked into the deeper meaning of the Hindu-Javanese monuments, for instance in his monograph Candi Borobudur, the article 'East Java and Heavenly Mountain' (Sumeru), a book about the bathing place Jala Tunda, and a book on antiquities in the Bali island. Another book called *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art* appeared from London in 1935.

In 1941, he completed a study on the palaces (kraton) of the Majapahit empire. In this he compared Prapañca's description of the royal palaces in Nagarakrtagama with the remaining royal palaces of Bali and of other places. Later he came to know about the reconstruction of the palace of Majapahit in the 14th century. When he was heading the Archaeological Service, many important works were carried out, for example, the reconstruction of the great Siva temple of Prambanan in Central Java. Investigations and researches on several monuments were commenced because of his keen interest, for example,

Gunun Vukir, Ratu Boko and Candi Javi.

Had he lived some more years he could have certainly contributed much more to the studies of Hindu-Javanese art and culture, but we must look back with a feeling of thankfulness to this great scholar for all he has done during such a short span of life. Posterity will remember him as a writer of the monumental work on the Rama legends and Rama reliefs in Indonesia, in Dvīpantara beyond the borders of India. A great scholar that he was, he was a real seeker after truth.

C. D. Paliwal



Rāma. Relief of Candi Lara Jongran. Java.

FOREWORD

"Now that an excellent monograph on the great Buddhist monument of Java, Barabudur, has been published it will be extremely welcomed by the admirers of Hindu-Javanese sculpture, if a book or a work on the Rāma reliefs of Prambanan is published with all illustrations and explanations".

Thus wrote Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (BKI. 77.215) in his study of the first relief of the Rāma series of reliefs of Candi Lara Jongran, situated in the Prambanan temple complex.

No better argument can be adduced for the publication of this book than this quotation from the famous archaeologist. All the time that I was working on this book, I kept the above-mentioned in mind and when I made known my plans for the same, I learnt that others were also of the same opinion. The publication of the old photographs of the reliefs of Candi Prambanan or Lara Jongran as it is called, by Dr. J. Groneman together with a short but often wrong text, is really extremely full of mistakes. Since then, the investigations of Dr. Brandes have shown that the Candi Lara Jongran is of greater value and importance than has been generally accepted till now.

It is clear that a revised edition of the reliefs has to offer more than just a photo album with descriptive remarks. The difficulty was, however, to decide how broad a base the new edition should have. As if of its own accord a point of view on this emerged, and that was the uncertainty regarding the version of the Rāmāyaṇa used in preparing the reliefs. Therefore at first one had to try and remove this uncertainty. As a result of this the study did not remain merely archaeological, but during the collection of material it became evident that the investigation into the version of the Rāmāyaṇa used would take up at least half the work. A comparison between the Indian and the Indonesian editions of the Rāma legends, lent itself to the possibility of incorporating here much that was not known generally and had not been published.

After investigations into the meaning of the contents of the reliefs, their stylistic importance had to follow. Thus the material divided itself of its own accord into two parts: into a literary and into a stylistic one. The possibility which the Rāma reliefs of Candi Panataran offered to examine the development of the Eastern Javanese style from the Central Javanese style and thereby to determine the specific Javanese style at least as far as the art of the reliefs is concerned, was too tempting to be left unanswered. In this context the question of the origin of the art of Candi Lara Jongran naturally became important, just as a similar question regarding the version of the Rāma story had been treated in the first part. It could be shown that one could not separate this origin from the

Buddhist art of Central Java. Thus the investigation became more voluminous regarding modern Java as well as ancient India. In my opinion it was possible only in this manner to get the best results. That, however, sometimes fresh problems instead of positive results came up and much had to remain unexplained, can only be justified due to my modest efforts and the volume of this study. I consider it a necessity to express my most heartfelt efforts and the volume of this study. I consider it a necessity to express my most heartfelt thanks to all those who have contributed to the fact that my work has been able to achieve some results.

To begin with my thanks to the college of curators of the University of Leiden which made it possible for me to undertake the journey during which I collected the necessary materials for this work, though the journey was originally meant for another reason. I am especially indebted to the following professors of the University of Leiden: Prof. Dr. G.A.J. Hazeu, Prof. Dr. N.J. Krom, Prof. Dr. Ph. S. Van Ronkel, Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who helped me in every way and even underwent much trouble for my sake. I received a tremendous amount of help and friendship from the Director of the Rijks Ethnographisch-Museum, Dr. H. H. Juynboll, who permitted me to have access at all times to the collection of the Museum and also from his librarian, Miss W. Hozee.

It is generally not possible to name all those who helped me abroad in collecting my material. I am restricting myself therefore in thanking the Director of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, Dr. F.W.K. Müller, Dr. C.O. Blagden of the School of Oriental Studies in London and the Director of the India Office Library, London, Dr. F. W. Thomas. An exception has to be made in the case of those whose information I have incorporated in my book or whose information was necessary from the factual point of view. I should like to mention in particular Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Prof. Dr. K. Döhring and Prof. Dr. A. Grünwedel. I am very grateful to them all for all their help.

Not least do I feel grateful to Mr. P. V. Van Stein Callenfels, who put at my disposal his rich knowledge and his manifold experience regarding the facts of modern Java.

I should very much like to express my thanks to my future boss Dr. F.D.K. Bosch, the Director of the Department of Archaeology of the Netherlands East Indies for the readiness with which he allowed me to publish the official photos. The same goes for the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India of the Northern Circle Mr. Daya Ram Sahni who even allowed me to publish his findings, and also to the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Karl Döhring who was extremely helpful in the selection and collation of the plates and that this book has appeared in a beautiful form.

Noordwijk aan Zee 1924

W. F. Stutterheim

CHAPTER I RAMA IN LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

"Thousand murders of Brahmins whether committed consciously or unconsciously and further ten thousand thefts of gold, drunkenness, contamination of the nuptial-bed of the teacher, hundred thousand billion errors which have arisen through small sins, all these can be destroyed through the recitation of the Rama-mantra..."

Thus runs an aphorism of Ramottara-tapaniy-opanishad, a work which was written in deepest adoration of Rama and absolute surrender to Rama.

The surrender to Rama on the lips of the most vicious criminal who has the murder of a Brahmin on his conscience is enough to cleanse him from this sin, a sin for which he would otherwise have to spend hundreds of years in the tortures of hell, to be borne again as a dog, as a boar, as an ass and as a candala (a man belonging to the lowest caste of society) before he can return to the existence of a human being.

When the Hindus extended their journeys to the famous land of gold, Suvarnabhumi be it Sumatra or Java, it was not surprising that they took the legends of Rāma with them, even if his worship had not reached that level as shown by the above-mentioned aphorism. It is also not very surprising that we come across in Sumatra as well as in Java, stories and poems in which this Divine hero has been sung and glorified and further that we find in Java in the temples of the Hindu period reliefs and pictorial representations of his stories which had become almost a sacred legend. Even the Javanese of today have preserved it after so many centuries with all that they had learnt from their Hindu masters, also the legends of Rāma in the treasure-house of their own literature. Out of this valuable treasure-house they still to this day take inspiration for their shadow plays and drama, as also for their stories and for so much more.

Who has not heard of the Serat Rama, of reliefs on the temples of Candi Prambanan and Panataran, who has been interested a little more than only in the achievements of the Javanese.

To those who, to begin with were satisfied with a superficial acquaintance with them, it became soon evident that the legends about Rāma and his cycle, which were current in the Archipelago, showed in many aspects such marked differences from the famous ancient Indian Rāmāyana that one had but to assume that the Sumatrans and the Javanese allowed themselves, the greatest possible license or freedom in the treatment of the topic. This was of course not surprising, after all, not many centuries had passed since the Hindus had taught them their legends and there was not a concept of what we would like to call truth,

as being one of the marked characteristics of the natives, as was claimed by many. It was really not necessary to adduce long proofs in order to make this clear to the surprised scholars. The judgement was clear, the natives had not understood the stories, had changed the meaning and misrepresented them according to their own conceptions, and

with that the whole thing was set aside.

It took a long time before one dared to suggest another solution to the problem.

The existence of certain consonant-compounds and word endings which are also to be found in Tamil led to a supposition, of course, with strong reservations, regarding misrepresentation on the part of the natives, that a Tamil Ramayana, in other words, a Rama narration from the South of India, could be the origin for many of the differences.

The attempt for another solution pointed towards the fact that one need not think about a meaningless misrepresentation of the Indian Rama story but led to the presumptions that Indonesians (the expression 'natives' has in recent times taken on an unpleasant connotation) had compressed the legend into a regular scheme, as a result of all that did not fit into the Indonesian scheme of narration, was to be removed and other parts to be changed accordingly.

The differences between the Indonesian Rama narrations and their Indian counterparts appeared now as a result of greater interest in a clearer light. All kinds of other questions arose from this, out of which the uncertain origin of the Hindus, who once were the rulers in Java and Sumatra became the most important. If it would be possible to discover in these stories something which would point to a particular version of the Indian Ramayana or of the Rama legend used, then only we could perhaps determine the region more exactly from which the Hindus came, who carried the legend with them. Perhaps even the question of the origin of Hindu Javanese culture in general could-be sorted out, a fact which could not be of small importance.

In the meanwhile some scholars had studied the Indian version more exactly but they came to no satisfactory results in regard to the story of Rama. Their investigations were concerned thereby only with the versions which showed the least differences and the area which was researched was very restricted.

Taking all these into consideration it appeared to me to be necessary above all to investigate the importance and the meaning of the figure of Rama in the country of its origin i.e. India, and even in this, mainly in literature and folklore, in order to discover in this way perhaps the reason for the interesting and remarkable differences and changes, which one finds in the Indonesian Rama stories. In this way we will ourselves slowly feel more at home in the matter and have a clearly focussed picture in front of us, when we

undertake the task of Indonesian versions.

It is self-evident that we did not have access to all the possible material during our investigations, especially when one takes into consideration that the number of manuscripts not yet edited in which one or the other of the stories of Rāma are contained, is so big that their study itself, would be a matter of life's work rather than just a small study, which can just be mentioned here. The ocean of Sanskrit literature is unfortunately not yet calm enough in order to cross it in a small boat, as has been expressed by the Hindus themselves.

A real folk epic which has unlike any other poem of all world literatures, captured for hundreds of years the minds and the creativity of the Indian people: thus writes Winternitz about the Rāmāyaņa of Vālmīki, the epic in which the deeds and stories of Rāma have been sung (2).

This would also be the view of all those who have come across the figure of Rāma everywhere in Indian literature and folklore and who find everywhere the name of the poet, Vālmīki, spoken with the greatest respect.

After the much more extensive Mahabharata, no other Indian epic poem has brought forth such a flood of more or less scholarly works from the pens of Europeans and other scholars.

One has tried to explain it as a story which became a myth, as a myth which was given a historical guise. The Indians themselves have seen in it a divine and a purifying poem in which every word and every sentence has a deeper meaning. People have called it the Iliad of India. In fact some have even tried to show the influences of one upon the other. One has tried to see in it, the struggle of the 'noble' race of the Aryans against the darker-skinned natives, who had to move towards the south in the face of these unwanted invaders.

One has tried to read into it a myth of the Sun, a myth of cultivation and very much more.

But all were agreed on one point that the Rāmāyaṇa was the source from which almost everything, if not really everything took its inspiration, regarding what was told or sung of Rāma, also the Indonesians. In the meantime critical scholarship has shown cracks and joints in the epic poem, which seems to prove that it was completed or put together from 'genuine' and 'not genuine' pieces. The genuine pieces could be attributed with a certain amount of correctness to the name of Vālmīki, the spurious or the non-genuine were held to be added later. One came to the following conclusion: the genuine part (books 2-6) were completed taking into consideration and using old ākhyānas in about the third or fourth century B.C. whereas the non-genuine part had its present form already in the 2nd A.D.

One of the criteria for determining the differences between genuine and the spurious was felt to be the manner in which Rama was represented in the epic poem.

If he was supposed to be the mythical hero in the older poem, he was taken to be the seventh avatara of Vișnu in the later part and his descent to earth took place with the specific purpose of freeing the world from the plague of the demon king Ravana.

Thus one found two of the three stages which the figure of Rama has undergone through in India, represented in the poem, whereas the third stage of absolute divinisation

was absent in the epic.

Only in later works which deal with the history of Rama, do we learn of the third stage This concept is reflected also in the above-cited words from the Rama-tapaniy-opanisad. To begin with, it would be advisable if I give, in short, the content of the story of Rama as found in the Ramayana of Valmiki. There is, of course, an excellent summary, which I shall refer to later but due to its detailed account there is a slight danger that 'one does not see the wood for the trees'.

King Dasaratha of Ayodhyā made a sacrifice to the gods in order to get offspring. In the sacrificial fire Visnu appeared with a drink. The queens drank from it and became pregnant. Four sons were borne to the king, namely Rama, Bharata, Laksmana and Satrughna.

The gods were afraid of Ravana. Visnu was supposed to incarnate himself and for this purpose he chose to become the son of Dasaratha.

After they are grown up Rama and Laksmana go with the sage Visvamitra to protect his sacrifice from the demons - Subahu and Mārīca. They killed the giants (5) and accompanied by the Sage go to king Janaka of Mithila. There Rama drew the bow of Siva and broke it in the process. Thereby he wins Sītā, the daughter of Janaka as his consort (4). The other princes also get married.

While returning they came across Ramaparasu, who gives his namesake the bow of Vișnu with the challenge to bend this as well. Rama does this and as a result Ramaparasu is bereft of the power over the three worlds, which he had conquered.

Dasaratha wants to crown his eldest son as king. His second wife Kaikeyi is reminded by her hunch-backed maid servant Manthara that she still has one vow left, which the king had promised at the time of his illness. She demands that Rama be banished for fourteen

years and her son Bharata be crowned as the King.

Rāma accepts this order willingly and goes into the forest with Sītā and Laksmana. The King dies of sorrow.

They find hospitality everywhere and are welcomed by the ascetics and others. They cross the Gangā with the help of Guha the nisāda-chieftain, remain for a short while with Bharadvāja and occupy a hut on mount Citrakūṭa. There they receive the visit of Bharata, who is not agreeable to what has happened and now comes to his brother to appeal to him to give up his decision. Rāma refuses to do this and gives him his sandals as a sign of his rule.

The banished one's go to the hermitage of Atri and are accorded a hearty welcome by him and his wife Anasuya.

III

They go to the forest of Dandaka and visit many hermits. Sītā is abducted by the giant Virādha but the brothers break his arms, as a result. They strangle him with their feet and a Gandharva comes out of the body, who tells them to go to Śarabhanga. One after the other, they visit Śarabhanga, Sutīkṣna and Agastya. Then they meet the vulture Jaṭāyu.

They construct a hut in Pañcavațī.

Surpaṇakhā, a sister of Rāvaṇa sees Rāma there and falls in love with him. Her overtures are repulsed. Even Lakṣmaṇa rejects her love. As she is about to take her revenge on Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa cuts off her nose and ears. She flees to her brother Khara, who sends, to begin with, some giants and then a whole army to fight Rāma. All die in this battle.

She then flees to Rāvaṇa. The king must help her. He in turn lets Mārīca, who had been thrown by Rāma into the sea earlier, take on the form of a golden deer. He is supposed to get Rāma away from Sītā. The king will himself then abduct Sītā.

The plan succeeds. Rāma follows the golden deer in order to carry out the wishes of his wife. The deer calls for help in the voice of Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa, on hearing this rushes to help him and leaves Sītā alone, who is carried off by Rāvaṇa to Lahkā. Jaṭāyu tries to stop Rāvaṇa but is himself fatally wounded in the fight. Thus searching for the abducted Sītā, the brothers meet the dying vulture, who dies while reporting what had happened.

Going southwards they meet the giantess Ayomukhī. She is also given the same treatment as Śūrpaṇakhā for the same reasons.

After that the brothers see the headless monster Kabandha, who tries to pull them towards himself with his long arms. His arms are, however, cut off and the monster himself is burnt to death. Kabandha goes to heaven having expiated his sins after he advises them to

turn for help to the king of apes Sugriva. The brothers follow his advice and come upon Śabarī, who is doing penance. Even she goes to heaven after their arrival.

IV

When they meet Sugrīva, he promises to help them on the condition that Rāma also assists him and kills his brother Bali, who possesses extraordinary strength.

The latter had once challenged the demon Māyāvī to a fight and had gone into a cave to carry out the same. When after a certain time, foam and blood streamed out of the cave, Sugriva presumed that his brother was dead and had himself placed on the throne. But exactly the opposite had happened and Bali now drove away his brother Sugriva. Rama, however, had to first prove his power. He threw the skeleton of the baffalo demon. Dundubhi, Māyāvī's father, who had also been conquered and killed by Bālī ten miles away, then he shot his arrow through seven tala trees.

Then they went together to Bali. Sugriva challenges him to a fight. The first fight remains undecided and Rama cannot shoot as the brothers resemble each other to the hair. Rāma then hung a mark of recognition on to Sugrīva and killed Bālī with an arrow. Sugrīva becomes king and forgets in his happiness his promise. When he is reminded of it, he sends four contingents of his army of apes to search for Sîtā. The fourth contingent is under the leadership of Hanuman.

This contingent gets into a cave, comes out, however, without loss but they are not able to find Sîtā.

The brother of Jatayu shows them the right way and tells them that the island, on which the abducted Sītā is living, is far out in the sea. Hanumān now decides to try to jump over the sea to get to the island.

After overcoming certain difficulties Hanuman is able to successfully jump over the sea and so reaches Lanka. He conquers the patron goddess of the island, searches all the houses and even the palace of robbers without finding Sītā.

Finally he looks into an Asoka grove and sees Sītā sitting there. Rāvaņa comes, at that very moment to her to persuade her to give herself to him but he is not successful in this attempt. After he has left, Hanuman makes his presence known to Sîta and suggests to her that he will carry her back on his back. Sîtā refuses to do this on the plea that no one apart from Rama should touch her.

Now the ape makes a tremendous amount of noise in the garden of the king. As a result of this he makes his presence known and very soon everyone is chasing him.

Ravana's son Akşa dies during the chase but another son Indrajit captures the ape with

the help of his magic weapons and leads him before the king, who wants to kill him but an emissary cannot be killed and therefore another punishment is thought of. Hanuman's tail is wrapped with cloth, dipped in oil and set afire. The result of this however is exactly the opposite because the ape jumps from roof to roof and sets fire to everything in his way, whereas he himself remains unharmed. Even Sītā remains unaffected by this and Hanuman jumps back to the mainland to give Rāma the good news about having found his wife. In the company of other apes, who had been waiting for him, he reaches Rāma.

VI

The army does not know how to cross the big sea. In the meanwhile Ravana has a quarrel with his brother Vibhisana because of what happened with Hanuman. Vibhisana who does not wish to remain with his brother any longer goes over to the other side and advises Rama to force the god of the sea to allow him to go through. As the god of the sea does not immediately appear Rama shoots a magic arrow into the sea. The god of the sea now appears and advises him to construct a dike across the sea. This takes place.

From both sides spies are sent out and soon the hostilities begin whereby naturally only the rakşasas (demons) are killed.

The most important fights are those against Indrajit who has the power to make himself invisible and thus attack his enemy with arrows, as also against Kumbhakarna who, though only to be awakened after prolonged efforts but once awake, rages like one possessed. Both of them, however, lose their lives but even the army of apes and its leaders suffer casualties. Hanumān shows his true merit, in that he brings medicinal herbs for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and in one case even brings the whole mountain on which the requisite plants grow. Even strategy and trickery are used. Through magic the heads of the two brothers are shown to Sītā to confuse her and to make her desparate, similarly a pseudo-Sītā is shown to the brothers. Finally Rāvana himself goes on to the battle-field. A terrible fight ensues in which Rāma kills his enemy.

After this in quick succession the following scenes take place: the entry of Rama into the conquered city, the meeting of the couple, the ordeal by fire which Sita agrees to in order to prove her purity, the setting up of Vibhīsaṇa on the throne as Ravaṇa's successor, the return to Ayodhyā in the magic vehicle Puṣpaka. On the way they are met by Bharata, who comes to hand over the royal insignia to Rāma, thereafter the coronation of Rāma in all pomp and show,

VII

The ascetics, who have come to the court of Rāma in order to offer him their respects, have chosen Agastya to be their leader, who relates several noteworthy stories about the demons and about Rāvaṇa and Hanumān. He narrates about the descent of the demon king

from Kaikasi and Viśravas, the son of Pulastya himself, the son of Prajāpati; about Rāvaṇa's asceticism and that of his brothers; about his invincibility with regard to the gods, about his quarrel with his half-brother Vaiśravaṇa, about his arrival on Lankā, his marriage with Maṇḍodarī the daughter of Maya; about his second quarrel with Vaiśravaṇa, during which he (Rāvaṇa) conquers the magical Puṣpaka; about his adventures in which he ravishes women, troubles kings and gods but also is defeated by some rulers, including Vālin.

After this Agastya narrates the origin of Hanuman from Anjana and the wind-god, narrates Hanuman's earlier adventures during which he thought the sun was a fruit and burns himself on it but is healed again, and finally he narrates the excellent character of the ape Hanuman. After that the ascetics take leave and for Rama the daily routine of a king's life begins.

One day Rāma learns that his subjects have taken exception to the fact that he has taken his spouse back. He decides to leave her.

Lakṣmaṇa takes her to the forest where she is found by the children of the ascetic Valmīki the author of Ramāyaṇa. In the hermitage of this holyman Sîtā gives birth to the twins Kusa and Lava in exactly the same night when Satrughna who is on his way to wage war against Lavaṇa in the name of his brother spends a night there.

After many years, during which we learn very little about Rāma's life, Rāma decides finally to perform Asvamedha in order to make himself the king of kings.

Among the guests are also Valmiki with his two pupils, the sons of Rama, who recite the Ramayana. They recognize each other, and the ascetic swears a solemn oath which absolves Sîtā from all blame but now the unexpected takes place. Sītā calls upon the earth to take her into her bosom. Under the very eyes of the nonplussed Rāma and others present, she disappears into the bowels of the earth.

Life does not have much to offer to Rāma. The god of time reminds him that it is necessary to take up rulership of the three worlds in the form of God Visnu and not to be a king over such a small kingdom as Ayodhyā. Rāma goes in a solemn procession to the Sarayū where he ascends heaven as God Visnu.

This is a very short content of the Ramayana, as we know from the reconstruction of Jacobi. The epic gets its present form from the many stories which are narrated by some sage or the other, at sometime or the other and from these I have mentioned only those which have a direct bearing on the legend. In particular the first and the last book are full of such stories and this is one of the reasons why these books have been declared to be spurious later additions.

But there are also other works of Sanskrit literature which have taken the theme of Rama and worked it out.

Thus we find in the Mahābhārata an epic of immense dimensions which narrates the fate of the Pāndavas but which also contains at several places a shorter or a longer version of our legend.

The Rāmopākhyāna, one of the upākhyānas from the third book of this epic mentions a Rāma-narration, which is in the true sense of the word a sort of table of contents and which could not but have a place in an encylopaedic work like the Mahābhārata (6). The other stories of Rāma in the same work are too short to enable us to extract much information from them (7).

Many of the Purănas, the holy books of actual Hinduism, deal with Rāma, be it in their genealogies, be it in their narration of the avatāras (incarnations) of Vișnu.

Apart from the fact that Rama was an incarnation of Visnu, he belonged to the dynasty which originated from the Sun. This dynasty is one of the few of which all Indian royal families consider themselves a part.

Thus we find the story narrated in the Bhagavata-, in the Visnu-, in the Agni-, in the Garuda- and in other Puranas.

It is not surprising that the incarnations of Visnu which played such a big role in the Purāṇas should be exactly and sometimes extensively treated. The Agni-purāṇa shows in adhyāyas 5-12 a detailed summary from Vālmīki's poem in its more recent form (8). The other Purāṇas do not lag far behind though one does not come across such a detailed version.

Unfortunately the dating of this kind of literature is still a daring venture and is often made on the concept of different heroes, depicted therein including that of Rama. As a result I was stopped from doing the opposite and from the dating of one or the other to derive this or that regarding the importance of Rama at a particular time. In any case Puranas as literature were always open to interpolation more than other literature. As a result of which some of the works have such a heterogenic character.

But we are even here not completely helpless due to the investigations of Pargiter and others, it has been possible to assign the oldest parts, to which the genealogies also belong a relatively older dating than one had generally accepted on the authority of Wilson (9).

We wold thus not be far from the truth, if we put the style in which the story of Rāma has been narrated as approximately in the fifth century A.D. and it does not seem strange

when we learn that there is total similarity with what one finds in the later form of the epic.

However, in the Purāṇas certain parts can also be definitely found which give rise to a totally different conception.

In the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa one comes across not only Rāmāyaṇa-māhātmya but also an Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, in which Rāma appears to us as a God of the first significance. In fact we could almost say the God (10). Whereas in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa the god Viṣṇu incarnates himself in the four sons of Daśaratha and hence each one has only a part of Viṣṇu. In the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa however it is not possible to remain satisfied with such a modest part for Rāma. Here the God incarnates himself completely in Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa becomes an incarnation of the Cosmic Serpent Sesa, the seat of Viṣṇu in the Cosmic Ocean. Bharata is the incarnation of his conch (śankha) and Śatrughna of his discus (cakra).

The absolutely divine character of Rāma becomes even more evident when we read (translation of Wheeler): Rāvaṇa though constantly in fearful expectancy of the time when he would receive salvation through the hand of Rāma and also that he would not be liberated from his present miserable life, if Rāma had not gone to Lankā to release Sītā from her prison. He worshipped Rāma in his heart during his work, during his meals and in his sleep. He worshipped Rāma and never forgot to carry his name in his heart" (11).

The unreconciled enemy, the treacherous one of the epic has here become the worshipper.

Here we find ourselves in the same circle to which the poem of Tulasi Das, the famous Hindi Ramayana, Ram-carit-manas, and the theories of the followers of Ramananda belong.

Here Rāma is called, thus cites Baumgartner "the one God without suffering, without form, without creation, the general Universal Soul, the highest Spirit, the all-pervading whose shadow the world is; he becomes a man and does many deeds out of love for his people; full of grace and compassion for the lowly; taking pity on those whom he knows his own and loves, he keeps his anger in check, the restorer of what is past, the All-good, the All-powerful, the Lord and king of Raghu's dynasty" (12). A legend narrates that once a poor sweeper, who was suffering from serious illness, called out in deperation: "O Ram, O Rām", and it so happened that Hanumān came along and flew into a rage at the thought that such a lowly creature should thus misuse the name of his Lord and Master. Very angry, he gave the man a kick on his chest.

But when he presented himself in the evening as usual before his Master, he saw to his great horror a terrible wound on Rama's chest.

Asked how this had happened, Rama answered "you kicked a poor man in the chest as he was calling out my name. Know then that what you have done to the most lowly of my children, you have done to me" (13).

Long before the story of Rama had become that of God on earth drama had taken possession of it.

We are searching in vain for a Rāma drama from the pen of Kālidāsa the king of Indian poets. He used this theme in his Raghuvamśa (14) which probably took the Padma-purāna as its source but Bhavabhūti and many others made sure that our heroes also appeared on the stage. Approximately fifty Rāma-dramas are available in manuscripts, awaiting research scholars to work on them. Very few have been published and even fewer have been translated (15).

What immediately springs to one's eye when one reads it superficially, is the very human role which Rāma has to play in drama. This is doubtless to a great extent due to the fact that in a drama action is the first necessity and action in human sense cannot be called one of the characteristic aspects of an Indian god. But apart from this, it should have been possible at some stage to emphasize clearly the divine character of Rāma which, however, does not happen.

In the Mahāvīra-carita as well as in the Uttara-Rāma-carita, both plays by Bhavabhūti, Rāma is depicted as being very much rooted in the soil. In the first play mentioned above Paraśurāma as a disciple of Śiva comes to the palace of king Janaka in order to avenge the insult which was perpetrated on his master Śiva, when Rāma broke his bow. Thereupon follows a fight between Rāma and Paraśurāma, which is interrupted by the entry of Janaka and after solemnisation of the marriage, the hostilities are resumed. After that both opponents become good friends as before. (As a matter of fact it comes to the fore that the whole matter and the fight between the two Rāma's was due to an intrigue by Rāvaṇa).

Instead of using this meeting between the two avatāras of Visnu as a good opportunity to show the divine origin of both, as has happened in the Rāmāyaṇa, the poet just suffices himself in depicting bare facts, as Bhavabhūti in his second Rāma drama unites the hero and the heroine in the end. I think that he referred to a legend of Rāma which though different from the Rāmāyaṇa yet was valid at his time and accepted in his circle, whether it was in the name of Vālmīki or whether it was in the name of any other poet.

These two episodes, which we have taken from the drama, prove that they depart trom

the epic and it was not possible to have changed the topic very much that did not belong to living mythology.

In the Hanuman-nāṭaka which is remarkable because of its origin, Viṣṇu in the guise of Rāma and not Rāma himself is worshipped at the beginning.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, the meeting between the two Rāmas, the remain with this episode was actually a world-shattering event, a storm rises, the earth quakes, the atmosphere darkens, the sun loses its warmth and the gods led by Brahmā crowd at the top. Finally Jamadagni realises that Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.

In Murāri's Anargha-rāghava we find a transformation of this to a basic human level. Rama asks for his bow, the opponent offers him his axe. They fight with each other behind the scenes and return soon as "very excellent friends" as Wilson puts it.

Naturally Rama always is depicted as the hero who possesses more than normal powers who further just like heroes of our myths is not frightened by anything, who can cry and laugh but in no case is he the God who conscious of his godhood goes through life (16) (as Tulsidās has represented him). "The hero of all heroes, whom the poets have so often made the centre of their plays", says Oldenburg, "Rāma is the support of every type of piety and the reflection of all noble creatures (Bhavabhūti)".

He represents him later as a "bloodless" type (17).

The mysterious class of Chhāyā-nāṭakas, according to Pischel actually shadow-plays, as its name suggests, have Rāma and others belonging to him on their list of dramatis personae (18). The remarkable part, however, is that in the Chhāyā-nāṭakas the complete legend of Rāma is not related as in the case of the dramas but only a single episode.

We have to actually look at the facts as follows. The authors of the Chhāyā-nātakas followed known episodic poetical works leaving aside so-called Vālmīki-text, the existence of these episodic texts can be proved by looking at modern literature.

It appears to me that one of the lesser known Chhaya-nataka, the Dutangada, is in consonance with the Bengali poem by Kavicandra, the Angader Raivara (19); at least as far as the plot is concerned, even if the text is different. The poet of the shadow-play, Subhata, says at the end (translation by Gray):

"By Subhata this drama hath been writ Upon a theme dear to the bards of old, And to it he hath added his own words, Commingling prose and verse in flavor sweet"//

1

Of much less importance than the plays are the adaptations of the Ramayana and to which Kavirāja's Raghava-pāṇdavīya belongs. This product of poetic sportiveness is similar to a certain type of old-fashioned play-cards, which looked at from different sides, give different things to read. In this work both the content of the Rāmāyana as well as the Mahābharata have been included and can be deciphered with much loss of time and trouble. Unfortunately it is not the only one of this kind (21).

*

Of greater value is the Bhatti-kavya a Ramayana in which the poet has laid down the golden rules of grammar and demonstrated them on the basis of the text.

A third poet wrote a Rāmāyaṇa in which not a single labial consonant is found. The language of the epic is Telugu.

A fourth used the Rāma saga as a Nītiśāstra and culled from it wisdom for daily life (22).

A fifth . . . but let us leave it at that, and reconcile ourselves with the thought that there have been very learned works from which we know not more than the titles and which to even quote all would take up many pages (24).

*

That almost all the languages of India have their own Rāmāyaṇa either newly created or simply translated does not need to be proved any more. Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Uriya, Pahari, Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil and Singhalese they all come together to present a colourful bouquet, whereby unfortunately the thorns among the roses are also present as most of them are not available to us (23).

*

It is not surprising that those who worked on the story of Rama, as for instance those on the Archipelago, were very wary of entering this tropical jungle and satisfied themselves with small parts which had already been dealt with. If I myself have not been led by some very safe guides, I would myself have stayed away from this tropical forest.

But before I allow the guide to take me by the hand, I would like to throw some light on the importance of Rama in folklore. Because more than anywhere else we have to keep the fact in mind that in India literature was not always a common property what was sung

in the courts, what was considered to be the greatest poetry that was not to be sung in the huts of the poor. This truism is valid everywhere.

In order to express that some one is ignorant the Hindu says (according to Monier Williams). "He is some one who does not even know that Sîtā was Rāma's wife" (25).

We can not think of any more definite proof of the importance of the hero for the people. The most colourful festivals of the Hindu calendar are connected with his name.

Rāma's birthday is celebrated with great pomp and show. Rāma-navamī as this festival is called, is the ninth day of the waxing moon in the month of Caitra (March-April). The temples are illuminated brilliantly. The Rāmāyaṇa is recited and from the very first day it is enacted during the night.

On the tenth day (the ninth, the actual birth day is a fast day) the performance reaches the point where Rāvaṇa is killed and everything comes to a happy end. These festivities are to be found particularly in North India, just like the Rāma-līlā which now follows. This festival which is celebrated in Bengal as Durgā-pūjā is celebrated in the first nine days of the waxing moon of the month of Aśvina (September-October). The Rāmāyaṇa is performed in its totality as a pantomime because neither text nor singing is to be found and the only accompaniment is a few instruments (26).

Finally even Hanuman has his festival in Mathura. According to Pt. Radha Krishna (27) this festival is celebrated on the 30th day of the first month. By the way, this city is a centre of the worship of Rama and Kṛṣṇa.

It is not surprising that scholars have tried to identify and localize the places mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa with the rivers, forests, mountains and cities of our times. In the first place we have Ayodhyā, present day Oudh, which is proud of places like Janmasthān, the birth-place of Rāma. Svarga-dvāra Mandir, where he was cremated and Teretākā Thākur, where he is supposed to have carried out the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The mountain Citrakūṭa, a hill in Banda District, is a veritable city of temples. About the origin of the mountain Maṇi-parvata near Ayodhyā, the following story is related: When the necessary number of stones for building the bridge were ready (28), Rāma gave the army of monkies who had carried the stones and the hills to that place, a sign to stop the work. As they did not know what to do with the hills, brought from Himālaya, they let them fall, where they were actually going. For instance, the monkey-king Sugrīva had reached Ayodhyā with the mountain named above. That is how it came to be at its present place. Other mountains

gave rise to the Vindhyas and to the Kaimūr. Rāmesvaram in the south of India is a widely known name. There Rāma established a linga after his return. Now one sees these as a temple complex of huge proportions.

Even certain places which had at the first glance little to do with the Rāma legend are suddenly brought into connection with the hero.

Kashmir, which cannot lay any claims on Rāma, however shows two remarkable peculiarities. In the mosque Shal Hamadān in Srinagar there is a well. Those who dare to look down into it, are struck with blindness. The well is called Kālī Nāg and came into being according to the legend at that moment when Rāma destroyed the palace of Rāvaṇa in Lankā (29).

In the third book of Rajatarangini, Kalhana's royal chronicle of Kashmir, there is a mention of the statues, which Ravana had taken to Lanka and which were supposed to be worshipped. After his death, they were brought back by the apes and left on the banks of a lake in the Himalayas and have been lost ever since (30).

As one can show many places which are connected with Rama, it is not surprising that certain tribes worship the hero.

The Kachwahas, near Mathura, the Lodhas, the Sahariyas in Bundelkhand, the Sejwaris, the Gonds, they all worship Rama of the epic, mostly together with Kṛṣṇa (31).

It is hence not unusual to hear greetings like "Ram Ram, Sîtā-ram or Radha-kṛṣṇa".

The Danish missionary Legene who worked among the Hindu colonisers in Surinam writes: "Listen that they call to each other: Rām Rām. Listen to the mule-driver on the country road: Rām Rām, Rām. Listen how the washerman constantly calls his name while he strikes the washing on a big stone (32).

In Gujarat where our hero is also greatly worshipped we find a custom, which gives a special importance to Rama for the dead.

The dead man is carried to the cremation ground by constant shouts "Śrī Rām, Rām, Rām nām satya hai" (33). Monier Williams reports that in such case of death the name is normally of Rāma or Nārāyaṇa and cites a report from which it is clear that in an execution all Śaivas under the age of thirteen, who have been sentenced to death, call upon the name of Rāma before they are hanged (34).

In Panjabi songs (35) he is depicted as the precursor of a hero in the pangs of love. The Kapusa caste among the Telugu's, have shown him as a wise Solomon because after he returned to Ayodhyā, he managed to recover the illegally kept back taxes to enrich the coffers of the state (36). In Central India as a tattoo design together with his brother Laksmana (Rām Laksman-ki jodī, 37).

We find him again in a children's song of the Telugu's (38) and finally in the folk zoology of Panjab where a certain type of locust carries the noble name Ramjī-ki-gāē which means Rama's cow (39).

The most magnificent of all monkeys Hanuman is perhaps even given greater importance in folklore although we are not exactly sure whether in earlier times he was not a member of the race of monkies which was generally worshipped.

In Kavicandra's Siva-ramer yuddha, Siva starts a quarrel with Rama which is concluded when the great powerful god has to hand over to Rama his servant and doorkeeper Hanuman (40).

Rama Mohan calls Hanuman Rudravatara an incarnation of Rudra-Śiva (40). Further the Buddhists also worship Hanuman as their temple keeper, according to Dinesh Chandra Sen. Apart from this he is a well-known god of the sea in many regions of North India. He is a Şun God (Boram), for instance, the wild Bhuiyas of Kennjhar (41) worship him as such. Elsewhere he is the monkey of the clouds who fights against the Sun (41). In north India his idol has the same importance as the Cannon Si Jagur in Batavia, namely as the God of Fertility (42). These idols are marked by their formlessness (44).

Hanuman is a popular village god in the whole of India and we find him in Ceylon even among the evil spirits (43).

The Bhuiyas of Bengal consider themselves to be his progeny. They call themselves Pawanban after Hanuman's name Pawan-kā-pūt, 'son of the wind'. Another tribe, however, the Hayas believe that they are descendants of Rāvaṇa's rākṣasas who came to the north after the death of their king Rāvaṇa (45).

We would be well advised, as I have already mentioned, if we do not desire the worship of Hanuman, purely from his position in the Ramayana but that we take it back to an older form of worship of a race of monkies which has its roots in totemism. However the role he plays in the epic has contributed definitely to a great extent to the spread of his cult.

His strong influence against the evil eye points to an older form of worship, which was certainly more broad-based (44).

Finally, even Vālmīki has been worshipped. A temple of his has been constructed in Bālu in Karnāl District, where he has been identified with Lāl Beg a god of the low caste of sweepers. This is not a very flattering identification and reminds us of the story from the Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa, where it is said that he was originally a dacoit and a robber and a tramp who could not even pronounce the name of Rāma (46).

The Aserias and the Behelias from the North-West Provinces are supposed to have originated from him (47).

Generally speaking, the folkloristic importance of Rāma and his companions is very great. In north India much more so than in the south. If one says that his name is on the lips of everyone then one would not be really exaggerating (732).

But it still remains difficult to give life with colours to his image that has been gradually made of him that can in the last resort only be possible through a long stay in the country itself and through meeting people both in well-to-do circles where the ancient epic is recited in Sanskrit in its grandeur and beauty and where it enjoys the same respect as our Bible as well as in the lower strata of society where the word Valmiki is only a sound without meaning but where everyone knows how to narrate the story of Rāma in a simple way.

Of the latter we cannot get a better impression than Dinesh Chandra Sen has tellingly said: "When one goes through the groves of coconuts and mangoes in the stillness of the night which almost covers up the straw thatched roofs of the villages or goes through narrow humid streets when nature dreams in half sleep when the leaves of the trees hang down tiredly, so one can make out here and there in a small lamp in the huts a small merchant or hand-worker, bent over his copy of the Ramayana, whose verses he recites, while reading, chanting in a melodious voice, which harmonizes with the humming of the crickets and the soft tones of falling leaves" (48).

We were already aware of the fact that the legend of Rāma was also known outside India and had reached broad circles of society, and that it is still living in Buddhist Burma is perhaps less well-known. Taw Sein Ko tells us that it is very popular among the Burmese and states further that the Rāmāyaṇa in a modified form is often performed. Such performances take place in puppet theatres (yotthe 49). This is one of the reports unfortunately very short, which we have about it (459). In Thailand where the king himself is considered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, bearing the title Rāma VI, we can find more associations. Unfortunately there is no edition, not to speak of a translation of the Ramakien, from which we could take out important facts about the Indonesian version. This was told to us perso-

nally, however despite this fact, it is still performed in theatres with puppets as well as in shadow play (50).

It is well known that Rāma's kingdom, Ayodhyā, has been identified with the Thai Ayuthia. An old Thai inscription of the thirteenth century contains the name of a king Prah Rāma Khamhēn. This proves that the figure of Rāma played from quite early times a role in the royal history of the country (51). In Cambodia things are not different.

Even here we come across names of kings with Rāma (456). There is also a Rāma legend, the Réaméake which is performed in the theatre (52). Annam localizes the legend in the immediate vicinity, where the empire of the demons Diēu-nghiēm was once situated. The king of this empire was Trang-minh (Daśānana, Rāvaṇa). In the north of this was situated the kingdom of H'ō-tōn-tinh under King Daśaratha. His son Chu'ung-Tu' married the princess Bach Tinh who was carried away by the demon king. After the battle Chu'ung-Tu' captured the princess back, after having constructed a dam through the sea. He led thus an army of monkeys as a peculiarity. It is said that the Cams (the old inhabitants of Annam) are supposed to have come down from the ape-like inhabitants of Hō-tōn-tinh (53).

Further to the east of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, excepting of course the Archipelago, the Rāma legend is not to be found. Through Mahāyāna texts, particularly through the Lankāvatāra-sūtra, episodes from the story of Rāma or Rāvaṇa have been carried right upto China and the legend may have been used there in some form or the other but all this is not important here (54). Prof. Grünwedel pointed out to me that in Tibet too the figures of Rāma and Rāvaṇa are well known but the knowledge of both has to be studied with some care as together with Rāvaṇa, the name Rāmaṇa is also found!(55).

Thus I am nearing now the actual subject of my work the Indonesian Rāma legends. It soon becomes clear that the importance of Rāma in Indonesia is not as great as in India. We shall be dealing with this in greater detail, when we look at the iconographic material. One cannot at any stage talk of a special worship of Rāma as God, neither in iconography, nor in literature, not even in folklore. The highest stage of worship which Rāma enjoyed in India does not exist in the Archipelago. Only the middle stage, that of the Viṣpu-avatāra, is to be found in the Indonesian Rāma stories, even though with slight variations. The first stage of the mythical hero, we find in close connection with the middle stage.

But despite all this we shall continue with our work.

Because when one considers the contacts between India and Indonesia then this connection was much less important than what went on before in the centuries of the Hindu Javanese period. The Indian worship of Rāma dated to the second century A.D. is to be found in the Archipelago at a time no direct influence from India on Indonesia appears to exist but at that time simply the trade kept up the connection.

Our iconographic materials will make the connections clearer than literary sources which are not always exactly datable and the more recent folklore sources are also in the same way. Our goal is, to begin with, to determine the relationship between the Indian epics, in particular, the Rāmāyaṇa on the one hand and the Indonesian Rāma stories on the other. Once we have been able to determine this relationship then we would be in a better position with the help of iconography to go to the question as to which part of India we have to look to find the source of Hindu influence on the Archipelago.

We must therefore try, to begin with, to get as far as possible a complete picture of what the "Indonesian Rama legends" really meant!

II

THE MALAYAN LEGEND OF RAMA

When in September 1889, the back side of the Siva-temple of Lara Jonggrang in Java was excavated, a relief was found on which it was possible to discern a monkey. The existence of such an animal on a Hindu temple immediately led one to think of Rāmāyana, since monkies play a major role in this epic. When after further excavation more representations of monkies were found, the connection was already made and the people were convinced of it.

Groneman writes: "Hanuman naturally led me to think of the legend of Rama and by comparing some groups of the reliefs in which he was depicted several times with certain episodes of the Javanese Rama, I became convinced that I was looking at the same legend carved in stone" (56).

Although the source which the doctor had at his disposal (in a new version of an Old Javanese Ramayana from the 18th century) was not the best and even later he did not have any reliable literature but the identification was clearly beyond any doubt. Of course, not all these scenes were to be traced in the original epic and others only allowed themselves with a certain amount of force to be fitted in the Indian pattern.

Even Van Stein Callenfels did not manage to bring everything into order, as he wrote a small guide in which he gave an explanation of the reliefs, which was published by Oudheid-kundingen Dienst. Even he had often to take refuge in suppositions, although the style of the guide does not always give this impression (57).

In 1921 it was possible for Vogel to give a more satisfying explanation for the initial reliefs on this temple in that he made the presumption that perhaps some text other than Valmiki's Ramayana could have been the basis for the reliefs. He, however, did not find such a text and he then made the assumption that perhaps Hindu-Javanese sculptors did not work according to a particular text (58).

This question was also gone into by Van Stein Callenfels when he made a close investigation of an another relief of the series and he was of the opinion that it had to be negated. But he felt that perhaps an oral tradition might have been written down for the Javanese sculptors (59).

In spite of this, much remained unexplained and the deeper one went into the matter, the greater the difficulties arose with the result that Krom in the new edition of his "Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst" stated that although the importance of the reliefs is manifest yet they have not been satisfactorily explained in every detail (60).

Just these small unpleasant and difficult divergences from the Sanskrit epic in conjunction with the fact that in all fields such small divergences can occur and further that origin of the Hindus in Java has not been exactly determined, made me aware of the question whether the search for a text was at all of any use.

The exceptional figure of Rāma which could not have been valid for old Java from the well known epic and Puranic sources of India makes one suppose that perhaps a totally different religious system came into use in Java, which was reflected in architecture and iconography. Often such divergences are explained away as misrepresentations of distortions. But please believe me, I have never accepted this. Certainly not for such a through and through Hindustic period from which the temples of Central Java arose.

We have further to picture to ourselves how and in what way the sculptors went to work? Are we doing the right thing by supposing that the artists worked according to a definite poem because the contents confirmed to certain reliefs? Can one consider enough of evidence for it? Or for something else?

Grünwedel in his "Alt-Kutscha" says, while talking about the paintings in the Caves of Turfan: "In the Rorukāvadāna (Divyāvadāna 547) it is related how the painters of King Bimbisāra tried in vain to draw and paint the Buddha. Buddha then himself threw his shadow on the canvas, thus the painters (citrakāra) got the contours which they then filled with colour (raṅgaiḥ pūrayanti). In exactly the same manner, the painters worked in the Caves" (61). He continues to report how the painters used for this purpose stencils which have been found and which are even today used in Tibet. Further he says:

"It is very possible that the letters on the walls which represent the individual figures signify the patrons as well" (62).

This sentence reminds us about the presence of short representations on Javanese constructions in such places where either a relief had to be put in (Prambanan) or had already been put in but had been walled up before its completion (Borobudur, 63).

It appeared to me to be an acceptable supposition that in actual fact such patterns are meant, which supposition has the advantage to explain certain exceptional peculiarities which otherwise would not be easily explainable (64).

If we accept this representation of the matter then the relationship between a particular text and a relief of the same content becomes much more open. We can then perhaps

explain all modifications through the fact that certain facts were used which did not belong to the same set.

But even with this, the difficulty is not set apart but only postponed because the question arises as to which texts did these patterns refer to?

Although a certain flexibility now comes in the picture but we still have difficulty in accepting the fact that the relief should not have conformed to the legend existing at that time. We have therefore to come back to the texts once more. We have to search for such texts where the modifications and changes are to be found. Since it is an easier task to search for changes rather than for agreements. As the basis of our investigation we will choose the version of Vālmīki's epic, which has been dealt with in detail by Jacobi. I shall refer to his contents throughout as my own, which I mentioned above, are naturally not enough. It is of course not claimed here that the gist of the original can in anyway substitute Valmīki's text but the fact that Jacobi's work is readily available led me to choose it.

But even these contents are not detailed enough for our purposes. Since the changes do not always refer to the major items but more often than not to the smaller ones, we shall spend more time and consideration on the facts which are contained in the seventh book, since the legends concerning Rāvaṇa and Hanumān demand our special attention and interest. Despite this we can not possibly deal with such a detailed review of the contents within the framework of this study as we would otherwise do nothing else but offer a complete translation.

A second question: do we have reason to believe that in India itself important changes had taken place?

I believe that I can answer this question soon.

For the sake of comparison let us first look at the Rāmopākhyāna from the Mahābhārata.

This Rama legend was narrated by the sage Markandeya to Yudhisthira, as a consolation for the abduction of Draupadi, the spouse of the five Pandavas. This story is found in the third book (65). In no less than 18 chapters, the events from the birth of Rama till his return as a victor over Ravana are described in reasonable detail. This account, which Jacobi called the oldest Ramayana, though having reasonably detailed narration, it does not however deal with the events after the return of Rama as well as leaves out the interpolated stories to be found in books I and VII.

What is remarkable is that in this version Ravana's origin and his history is dealt with in great detail in the beginning, while the origin and early history of Rama is dealt with very shortly. If we go upto the genealogy of Ravana we see that it differs from that given in the

Rāmāyaṇa (66). Added to this we do not find any mention of Rāma's journey to Mithilā and how he won his bride Sītā there by breaking Śiva's bow. The peculiarities regarding the pure history of Rāvaṇa, the asceticism of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, are also missing in the Rāmayaṇa. Jacobi lists some of these changes in the poem, which, according to him, are the result of repetitions and misunderstandings and comes to the conclusion that Rāmopākhyāna is a "careless transcreation" of the epic.

The changes which he did not list he tried to explain away with the sentence: "Other

changes could be a result of the imagination of the poet" (67).

In order to give confirmation to this he adduces fantastic proofs made by native witnesses during trials. To my mind Jacobi confuses two things which should be treated separately. The narration of a witness during a trial is something which in the West too is often different from what actually happened.

The narration of a highly sacred epic cannot be put on the same level. Such a concept would give the Indian poet an individuality, which he would get under the influence of Western culture. In any case apart from all this, it seems too much to claim that genealogical changes are due to the imagination of the poet. It is possible that in the list of a dynasty there may be one name more less mentioned and this can be taken to be inexact or because of carelessness it may be so but here we find the fact Rāvaṇa's mother in the Rāmāyaṇa is totally a different person to that in the Rāmopākhyāna. Here he also seems to be only a half-brother of the brothers who have been mentioned as his real brothers in the Rāmāyaṇa. Such a change cannot be without a reason attributed to the imagination of the poet whose idea was, according to Jacobi, to incorporate Vālmīki's epic into the encyclopaedic Mahābhārata.

Even less can I accept this fact that the same name of Ravana's mother appears in the Linga-purana (68). This fact, taken with the lack of the svayamvara, the lack of the figure of Manthara-Dundubhī (69), together with several other changes lead us to doubt Jacobi's assumptions.

Even though it is important to note that certain verses from the Rāmāyana are to be found in the Rāmopākhyāna yet, it would not be correct to lay too much store by them. Both the verses from Uttara-kānda could have been very well later interpolations, so that the conclusion of Jacobi regarding the dating of the Rāmopākhyāna becomes uncertain. We

should in actual fact take into consideration that the appearance of these verses stands in sharp contradiction to the many changes and we have to ask ourselves the question as to what could have moved the poet to keep so close to the original that he quotes verbatim verses from it but on the other hand allowed himself such unpleasant liberties, which are to be found in the changes? All these are reasons enough for me to consider the Ramo-pakhyana a version of the Rama legend which is independent of Valmiki's epic. Perhaps it goes back to an orally transmitted version of the story, which Valmiki did not know and which differed at various points from his epic.

It becomes clear that this conclusion is important for our purpose it we can consider that our Indonesian Rāma legend offers as many patterns of apparent illogical differences. One has tried to explain away by making the Indonesian's lack of exactitude and love of truth (70). They were fully responsible for the differences and in the comparative study of Hindu and Hindu-Javanese culture, the word "misunderstanding" has become a magic formula to hush up numerous difficulties.

I find thus the typical differences both in the Classical period as well as in SouthEast Asia. Keeping this in mind, I have been spurred on to research further in the hope of finding once the variants which till now have been considered the sole possession of the Indonesians.

Having become more careful I open the Puranas.

And immediately I find something different. The Linga-purāṇa gives in its genealogy of Ravaṇa, a synthesis of the Mahābharata and the Rāmāyaṇa. In the further narration of the legend, certain facts are narrated differently.

In the epic, the God of the Sea, which is separating Rāma from Lankā, is forced to appear before him by the application of the Brahman-arrow (71). In the Mahābhārata, the same event is produced through dharna (which means so much as a fast) (72). But in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, the God of the Sea appears as soon as Rāma looks at the water level (73). In Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, it is Lakṣmaṇa who mutilates the brutal Sūrpaṇakhā but in the same Purāṇa, it is Rāma who does it (75).

But should not the fact be considered that at the time of the writing of the epic, Rama had become the object of worship which did not allow him in certain points to play the role, which the hero had to play in the epic and this fact could be one of the major reasons for the differences, for example the one mentioned above.

This is certainly the case for later literature but let us return once again to Rāmo-pākhyāna. There we see how Rāma also literally burns up his opponent Rāvaṇa with the help of the Brahman-arrow, so that nothing remains from him including his chariot and horses. In the Rāmāyaṇa we read that Rāma shoots him in his heart and his body is mourned

over (77). Further we learn that in the beginning armies of rākṣasas came forth from Rāvaṇa's body and that the giant Rāvaṇa brought out both numerous Rāmas and Lakṣmaṇas in order to confuse his enemies, this is not known to the epic (78), and when we now read the complete story of the Guhyaka and the water which can make invisible (79), then we can assume that all these went back perhaps to a version which was popular and perhaps extremely well known among the Hindus.

In fact dramas or nobody can take us away from this view but in this case we have to consider other reasons which led to the narration being changed. These reasons are mainly of a technical nature. Thus we find dialogues between air-spirits and even sometimes gods, in scenes which cannot be represented on the stage. In this case it is clear that we cannot ascribe to these persons a very big role, especially since we know that some scenes could not be performed according to the rules (80), for instance fights and battles had to be fought out behind the scenes. But if in different dramas we find that a messenger of Rāvana or the King himself appears in Sitā's svayamvara to participate for the hand of Sītā, we should not believe that this is done only for the sake of the drama.

The powerful character of Rāvaṇa is not only emphasized in these dramas in which the king transposes himself in his opponent in order to approach Sitā, with his own ten heads in his hands. This is also the case in the Rāmopākhyāna as shown above. This is a proof that a stage version was not necessarily modified through the drama (81).

The figure Suṣeṇa, the doctor of Rāvaṇa, who was brought in his sleep to heal Lakṣ-maṇa appears to be taken seriously. All the more, since a monkey of the same name undertakes this role in the Rāmāyaṇa (82).

Further, we read that Angada planned hostilities against Rāma after his return to Ayodhyā. This could be suppressed with difficulty with a promise of the gods that Angada's father Vālin in a later existence would kill Rāma, who would come again in the form of Kṛṣṇa (83). There is no need of proof to assume that here we have a remnant of the old story. The anger of Angada against Rāma can clearly be explained that his father Vālin was killed by Rāma against all dictates of law. This was something what did not fit into Vālmīki's concept at all.

We also cannot completely ascribe the mention of the relationship between Parasurāma and Siva, about which nothing is mentioned in the epic, completely to Bhavabhūti's imagination (84). We should also not neglect the interruption of the fight between the two Rāmas, and the waiting for each other after completing the kāncana-mocana, one of the marriage rites (85). In the same way we cannot neglect the earlier entrance of Vibhīsana who had become an ally of Sugrīva even before Rāma met the monkey king (86).

In the drama, the fight between the two monkey kings has been left out completely. We only hear about a fight between Rāma and Vālin, as a result of an agreement between Vālin and Mālyavat, Rāvaṇa's maternal grandfather (87).

But the hand of the poet is clear in the last events of Bhavabhuti's Uttara-rama-carita with the exception perhaps of Sītā's attempt at suicide (88).

But even a superficial perusal of the Indian story gives us enough modifications in it to confirm our view that Valmiki's epic was not entirely valid for everyone and at all times. There were certainly several versions which were so well known that they could have formed the basis of the work of a theatre director. We cannot really accept the view that these poets could have changed such a sacred story on their own and have made changes in the version of Valmiki, if this version of Valmiki, as one would like to think, had been the commonly accepted one.

Let us now turn our attention to Indonesia in the hope that sooner or later we would be able to find some interesting clues.

It is not easy to choose a particular Rāma legend from the vast extent of Javanese and Malayan literature to form the basis for our comparison.

We could be tempted to take the Old Javanese Rāmāyana Kakawin because it must have been written down already in 11th or 12th century A.D. but we have to reject this choice on several grounds (90). Firstly, the modifications in this work are not very many and not very important in any case. Secondly, it is not absolutely complete. Finally, it will soon be clear to us that this work can at least be considered as the Rāma legend representative for Indonesia (89).

Jasa di Pura's Serat Rama in the so-called small metre (tembang macapat) that one has considered it as an adaptation of the Old Javanese Ramayana in the New Javanese language, can be considered even less as an example, although it also offers modifications together with many literal agreements with the Kakawin (91).

The Javanese Serat Kandas have mixed up the Rama legend much too much with historical materials from other stories (93). The lakons (92), and episodic poems (94)

The work Rama Këling could be taken into consideration at first from all Javanese versions (95) but the poem is put in the shade by the Hikayat Sĕri Rama, which is closely connected with it and which has greater details. This latter work has a further advantage that it is available in a printed version.

I will, therefore, now give a detailed paraphrase of these Hikayats put together from the two existing versions, the first dated 1843 by Roorda Van Eysinga (96) and the second dated 1917 by Shellabear (97). Thus, we can supplement the stories which are not found in one text, from the other version. In doing this, we shall be calling the first text R and the second text S and the whole then can be further completed by details from unedited manuscripts from the ones available to us (98).

I shall start with the story of Ravana which is contained in S but not in R (99).

[S 1] Maharaja Ravana (100) with his ten heads and twenty arms was sent by his father on a ship (104) to Bukit Sĕrandib (102), because he had behaved very badly (101). His father was Citra Baha and his mother Raksa Pandi, the daughter of Dati Kawaca (103). Reaching Sĕrandib he carried out penance in that island. He hung himself down from a tree with his head downwards (105).

[S 2] While Adam was living on earth, he saw him hanging there and was requested by the ascetic (Ravana) to speak for him in front of Allah (106) that he should get four kingdoms:

[S 3] one on earth, one in the world of spirits (107), one inside the earth, and one in the sea. When Ravana promised always to live according to law and justice, this request was granted to him and he received the four kingdoms. As his penance had been crowned with great success he got married. To begin with he entered into matrimony with the princess from the world of spirits, Nila Utama (108), who bore him in due course of time, a son, Indera Jata (109). This prince had three heads and six arms and he was made the king of the kingdom of spirits at the age of twelve.

[S 4] After that Ravana married the princess of the earth, Puteri Pertivi Devi, who also bore him a son, called Patala Mahirajan. Even he became a king at the age of twelve, on earth. A third marriage was made with the queen of the seas: Ganga Mahadevi. The son from this marriage was Ganga Mahasuri (111) who became the king of the seas at the age of twelve.

Thus Maharaja Ravana was the lord of all the worlds from the east to the west. There were, however, four kingdoms which were not under his rule. The first was Indera Puri, the second Biruhasya Purwa, the third Lagur Katagina (112) and the fourth Ispaha Boga (113). But apart from these, there was everything on and in the earth, in the sea and within air, subject to the king of reksasas, who had a magnificient palace built for him on the Bukit Serandib: Lanka Puri.

[5] In Indera Puri, the first of independent kingdoms, seven years after Ravana's exile, his grandfather Berma Raja died. His eldest son Badanul was his successor. But even he died very soon and thus Citra Baha came on the throne of Indera Puri. [6] His three children, all of whom became famous due to the role they played later in the legend, were apart from Ravana, who has already been mentioned. [7] Kumba Kerna, who loved nothing better than to sleep in a huge mountain cave, had a great similarity to his grandfather Dati Kawaca. Then Bibu Sanam, who married a daughter of Naran (115), who became king over Mandara Puri and finally a daughter Sura Pandaki who married Berga Singa (114).

When Citra Baha died Jama Menteri was chosen king. He, however, voluntarily renounced the throne. [8] In his place came Naran, he ruled for three years and was succeeded by Menteri Syaksya.

[9] In Biruhasya Purwa Maharaja Balikas ruled whose uncle Dati Kawaca h. been killed by Citra Baha. (Balikas's mother was a sister of Dati Kawaca who married a raksasa king Dati Përjanga). [10] Because of this murder he was very angry with Citra Baha. [11] He thought of revenge and asked for the advice of one of his commanders. [12] He sent a spy to Indëra Puri, in order to find out the strength of his enemy. [13] The spy left with a complete army of Raksasas. After a march of four months he left behind a part of his retinue and finally reached the city. He needed five days to reach the middle of the city from its border. He mixed himself in the palace among the fakir-miskin (poor men). [14] One day, he was successful in getting near the prince and he saw to his great disappointment that Menteri Syaksya was ten times more powerful than Maharaja Balikas. [15] But he did not wish to leave the city just like that secretly. He licked the footsteps of the numerous menteri's and commanders. As a result of this, they lost their power of life. [16] The spy then wrote a letter to Syaksya, in which he tells him about this and [17] leaves for home (116).

The Prince reads the letter and is extremely astonished at the magical power of the spy. He immediately sends for two saints who bring the dead back to life through a white drink.

A council meeting is called to which the brothers of the king also come. [18] It is decided to send an army after the spy to fetch him. But the tricky spy repeats his earlier action and licks the footsteps again with success. [19] Only a few do not die as they had

[S 19] covered up their footsteps behind them but [20] even this does not help them as they are defeated and beheaded by the reksasas, who had been left behind. The heads of the dead were taken to Balikas (117). [21] A big reward was given by Balikas. On the other hand, Menteri Syaksya was, of course, very angry. [22] He could not possibly allow other hand, Menteri Syaksya was, of course, very angry. [22] He could not possibly allow this insult to go unpunished and he thus decides to send a mighty army against Balikas. In this army, there are all the friendly kings like Kumba Kerna, Bibu Sanam and others and in the shortest time possible a huge army marched towards Biruhasya Purwa.

[23-34] Numerous battles take place but it was not possible for Syaksya's army

despite the greatest trouble to enter into Balikas city.

[35] In the mean time, Ravana has returned from the sea in order to take over the rule of Lanka Puri. On arrival, he asks about his father Citra Baha of Indera Puri and about his grand-father Berma Raja. He learns about the changes of power in Indera Puri and about the war which was just going on. He wanted to end this struggle at all cost.

[36-51] In the company of his sons, he goes to Syaksya. After that his sons go to Balikas as mediators. After several discussions and negotiations, there seems to be no more serious difficulties in the way and all together with the former enemy Balikas climbs on to the vehicle (118) of Indera Jata, to celebrate the peace in Indera Puri, which had been just signed.

After ten-day long celebrations, Balikas, Ravana and his men go back to their homes, and peace and tranquility is restored again.

[R 2] Dasarata the king of Ispaha Boga, the fourth of the kingdoms independent of Ravana, was the son of Dasarata Cakravarti. The son of Dasarata was Raman, the son of Nabi Adam (119), plans to establish a new city and looks for a suitable place for it. The Prime Minister Puspa Jaya Krama (Bikrama) went out with an army to find such a place (120). Finally they find this on the top of a hill which is surrounded by a green forest and send a message about this to the king. After that he started to clear the forest on the hill but to his astonishment, a bush of "green bamboos" does not let itself be uprooted. [3] The king arrived there on an auspicious day and saw with his own eyes that all efforts were in vain to remove the bamboo. Extremely angry he descended from his state elephant with the four trunks and took the axe in his own hand but then he sees through a miracle

of God that in the bamboo, a beautiful woman was sitting on a throne. She had much jewellery on her and had a face as beautiful as the full moon and the colour of her body was like pure gold (121), quickly he took off his loin cloth and wrapped her in it and carried her on his elephant to his house. For forty days and nights, the people celebrated a festival, the most delicious foods were eaten and the people heard the most heavenly music. In a favourable moment the king put on his ornaments and holding the hands of Mandu Devi which was the name of the found princess, he climbed on to the royal palanquin of seventeen stories, followed by all the princesses [4] and women servants of the palace. Thus now they go seven times around Ispaha Boga (122) but just as the seventh round was beginning, the palanquin broke down. A concubine (gundik) of the king, named Balia Dari comes to help and stops with her arm the falling of the palanquin, even though her own arms break because of the weight of the palanquin but she is thus able to avoid the harm to come to the king and the princess. Grateful because of this deed Dasarata solemnly promises her that should she ever get a child from him, be it a son or a daughter, that he would make him or her the regent in his country.

After that the new city is built and gets the name Mandura Pura Negara. The king enters the new palace and life goes on (123).

As Maharaja Dasarata was still childless, after many years he tries to liberate himself from this terrible worry by the advice of a holy man. After consulting the sacred books, his advice was as follows: "Sacrifice for three days in the middle of the field".

[5] Accompanied by one thousand disciples, the holy man flew through the air to the palace city of Mandura Pura and carries out a solemn sacrifice, after he has been solemnly fetched. The sacrificial rice was divided up into six balls. From these three balls were given to Mandu Dari and three to Balia Dari. But suddenly a crow, in actual fact an ancestor of Maharaja Ravana, all of a sudden came there and carried away one of the balls meant for Balia Dari. [6] In great rage the holy man cursed the crow and said that it would die by the hand of Mandu Dari's son and further that whoever eats this rice ball would get a daughter, who would marry that son. The bird then flew to Lanka Puri, and reported to Ravana what had happened. On hearing this Ravana ate the rice.

After the sacrifice was over, the rice had been divided up. Dasarata gave the holy man the usual presents of gold, silver and precious stones. After that everyone goes away.

One day, the king goes for a hunt and sees a deer, [R 6] who to his great astonishment addresses him and gives him advice to leave hunting in that forest to his son.

[7] The king Dasarata had a second meeting with an old saint who had already done penance for five hundred years and was sitting on a Cempaka tree. His name was Berma Deva. On the king's asking him whether he would ever have progeny he prophesied: "when Dasarata has killed a thousand elephants in the forest then Dasarata will get four sons and a daughter".

Immediately the king begins to fulfil the prerequisite of the prophecy and after some time he was able to kill nine hundred and ninetynine elephants and then suddenly he heard it was a new moon day. To his joy the noise of a drinking elephant, the thousandth. He shoots but his arrow hits the son of a brahmin who has been looking for food for his blind father Begavan Bikrama Deva. The youth had fallen into the sea due to the darkness and Dasarata had misunderstood the noise.

After Dasarata found the father, the latter cursed him and prophesied that he too would never see his son happy and that he (the son) would also die a similar death. After that he continued his penance undisturbed for three thousand years (124).

[8] After sometime Mandu Dari gave birth to a son called Seri Rama, whose body colour was emerald green (125) and whose face was as beautiful as the full moon. She gave birth to a second son called Laksemana. Balia Dari gives birth to two sons Berdana and Citradana and after that to a daughter Kekuvi Devi (126). As Maharaja Dasarata once gets very ill with an abscess in the groin region his life was again saved by Balia Dari who sucked out the puss. The king renews his vow as a result of this.

[9] Sĕri Rama grows up to become the ideal of a king's son, full of love for his subjects. Since he has nothing else to do, he also practises archery. One day he shoots an arrow in the hunch of a deformed child, whom he then forces to wander from left to right and backward to forward. As the child looking for consolation came to the tuan putĕri (princesses), a lot of bad things were said about Sĕri Rama. Even the ministers who are called for help have all kinds of reservations about the eldest son of Dasarata and many of them said that they would prefer to see the son of Balia Dari on the throne.

[10] Ravana, on hearing about Mandu Dari and the way in which she was found, immediately sends for his chariot and leaves for Mandura Pura, disguised as a brahmin. He comes there to a gate with seven locks which, however, opened by itself on his muttering a magic formula and allows him to enter the palace. In the middle of the front court yard, he sits down and begins to play on his lyre. Dasarata, who was sleeping at Mandu Dari's side

[R 10] was woken by the music, and as he went to the door, he saw a brahmin in whom he recognized Ravana.

After a short talk, the latter lets Dasarata know that he wants to take Mandu Dari with him. Dasarata refuses in the beginning because of the children but then finally promises to give her to him. [11] But his wife is not apparently agreeable to this decision because she goes in her palace and scratches off her skin and makes a ball as big as an egg from the skin. She puts this on to a golden plate and sacrifices it. As a result the ball changes into a green frog. Even this is brought as a sacrifice and finally this turns into a beautiful woman, a replica of Mandu Dari (127). Ravana goes off in great haste with this pseudo-Mandu Dari (she is called in 'R' Mandu Daki from now onwards, since daki = thrown off skin). But Dasarata who is very surprised to see his own wife again, since he has seen his guest going away with her makes quite sure whether he has really got what he wanted and then accepts what has happened temporarily (128).

[12] On his way home Ravana came to a certain deva Zangi called Ki Subrisu, who remained seated in a disrespectful pose with his eyes hanging down, as the Maharaja went past. On Ravana's asking him for an explanation, he reproached him by saying that he desired a married woman. This saint was none else than a disciple of Maha Bisnu. He had done penance for two hundred years in order to get three children in the form of birds in order to keep Bisnu on his side in his fight with Si Ranjak. The first child was Geruda Maha Biru, the second Dasampani, and the third Centayu. The first of his children flew away with the moon, and the others remained with the father (129). After Ravana reached Lanka Puri, immediately he ordered to construct forty large and one thousand small palanquins.

[13] Dasarata gets the flowers picked by an old woman in his garden and gives her the task of taking these to Ravana's palace but forbids her to take any money for them. He himself changed into a child, who had just learnt how to sit and came hidden in the flower basket near Mandu Daki (130). As Ravana was visiting his first wife Sekanda Maya, Dasarata took on his proper form and slept with the pseudo-Mandu Dari. [14] He then disappeared through the air, as he had come earlier through the flowers.

[R 14] Ravana now ordered preparations for his marriage which was supposed to last for forty days and forty nights (131), All the princes were invited and there were celebrations after celebrations. [15] Finally the day comes and the king with his ten heads and twenty arms decorated with ten crowns and several rings which twinkle like the stars in heaven, and ear-rings in his twenty ears dazzling with diamonds, was carried around on a throne, accompanied by his equally beautifully decorated Mandu Daki. Forty thousand big and small palanquins were on parade. Seven hundred umbrellas decorated with precious stones and eight hundred sceptres also decorated with precious stones were carried around. Seven times they were carried around in a circle and with that the marriage was completed. After some time Mandu Daki gave birth to a daughter as beautiful as gold. Ravana sends immediately for his brother Maharaja Bibu Sanam, who comes with his pupils to Lanka Puri because he was a famous magician.

[16] The horoscope was drawn up but with the shake of his head Bibu Sanam related that whosoever marries this child would kill its father and rule over the four worlds. Ravana is naturally unhappy at this prophecy and wanted to kill the girl immediately, but the mother suggested that it should be put into an iron box (132) and thrown into the sea and so it happens. The baby is given the breast for the last time (133), [17] given over to its enang (governess) who then gives it back to Ravana. He gives the child to Bibu Sanam who throws the casket into the sea.

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Ravana's first wife expressed the desire to spend some time on the island Indera Puspa Vanam. Accompanied by three hundred maid servants, she got on to the Singhasana and flew in a moment through the air to the island. A small castle had been built there and they amused themselves in the garden of the devas and indera. These were heavenly beings, who lived there and did penance. Magas or dragons were stationed around the island in the sea to protect it, by the orders of Maha Bisnu (134). Once, thus narrate the inhabitants of the island, Ravana came there but he had to go away because of fear of the dragons. He wanted to make the female inhabitants of the island concubines and maid servants. Ravana's wife decided to stay there and dedicate herself to penance.

[18] In the meantime the child in the iron casket floated from Lanka Puri to Darvati Purwa to Maharesi Kali. One morning the saint was worshipping the sun. While doing so he stood upto his navel in the sea, when the casket hit against his legs. After he had finished his prayers, he took it with him to his wife Manuram Devi (136). To the surprise of both,

the whole house is filled with light as soon as the casket is opened and from the breast of Manuram Devi (135) milk flows. They also find two jewels in the casket (S 62). It is clear to them that it has been destined by the gods that they become foster parents of this beautiful girl. Then Maharësi Kali plants forty palm trees in a row and says: "he who can cut through all these forty palm trees with one shot, he should marry this girl who was named Sita Devi" (137).

[19] As Sita Devi is twelve years old kings come from all regions to Maharësi Kali in order to fulfil his wager and to win his daughter as their wife. Even Ravana came in his flying chariot and it was like the heaven falling down.

Maharesi Kali, however, missed the sons of Dasarata among the princes and did not wish to give Ravana any chance, before these princes were invited.

- [20] On the advice of his wife, he went to bring Seri Rama and Laksemana and left for Mandura Pura.
- [21] Sĕri Rama and Laksĕmana were supposed to get training in all the arts from Bĕgavan Nila Purba (Praba) and they are on their way to this saint. When the brahmins who were living with Nila Purba saw the youths coming, they thought that two angels had descended from heaven. Such was the lustre of their supernatural power. The balai (reception-pavillion) of Nila Purba was too small for such noble guests and this by itself expanded to seventy rooms (138). The teacher [22] narrates to his youthful pupils from the earliest beginnings of the hostilities between Sĕri Rama and Ravana's family. How his grand-father Dasarata Cakravati had fought against him and prophesied that his grandson would subdue him (139). After that he transfers a part of his magic power to the two princes, who now prepare themselves to carry out deep penance on Mount Gańsa Indĕra. From their whole army which had accompanied them, [23] they keep only seventyfour soldiers with them (140).

In the meantime, it was not known to the naga Pertala Sekanda Deva, who was carrying out penance on the mountain Bimacalam that Maha Bisnu, Betara Deva and the golden peacock had incarnated themselves in Dasarata. When he came to the place where he thought to find Maha Bisnu, he found it empty and understood now that the incarnation had already taken place. He left, therefore, the mountain and went in search of Seri Rama, who was supposed to be an incarnation of Maha Bisnu. Very soon he saw on Mount Gansa Indera two youths sitting on lotus flowers and doing penance. He recognised them as the ones he was looking for and brought forth for Seri Rama three magic arrows Gande Vati,

[R 24] Pale Vati and Cinde Vati. He suggests to him to use Maharesi Kali's bow and gives him in addition the club of Maha Bisnu. Armed with these powerful weapons Seri Rama and Laksemana go back to their country.

[25] When Maharesi Kali arrives in Mandura Pura and expresses his wish to take Seri Rama and Laksemana with him. Dasarata who does not want to loose them again gives him in their place Berdana and Citradana but Kali does not let himself be deceived by this and gives them a test. He allows them to choose the way to Darvati Purva (141). The first of the ways was seventeen days long journey and was made dangerous by a reksasi Jagini (270) who was so strong that even Ravana could not conquer her. The second way was twenty days long journey. On this way one had to kill a big rhinoceros called Agai Gandai. The third way lasted twentyfive days and was feared because dragon Surangini lived there, whereas the fourth way which required forty days of journey did not have any danger. The princes chose the last one and thus lack of courage convinced Kali that he had been given the false princes. He went back immediately [26] and asked for Seri Rama, who is finally given to him after some hesitance on the part of Maharaja Dasarata. Putting him to the same test led to the expected success. [27] To begin with, Jagini is killed in a fight. She is lying in sleep and breathes like a hurricane, when Seri Rama kicks her in the legs. After a short verbal altercation between the two, [28] the fight begins with her arms crossed over her chest. She blew away stones as big as a mountain with her breath, and challenged Seri Rama to kill her uvula, but unexpected the hero shoots an arrow in her open jaws and the monster fell dead to the ground. After that it is the turn of the rhinoceros. It is killed with an arrow on his side. After that Seri Rama makes short work of the dragon and pierces its head with an arrow, with the result that the dragon dies (143). Without any further adventure, they reach Darvati Purva (142).

[29] In the midst of all the princes gathered there Seri Rama had to listen to much ridicule and laughter. They compare him with a dwarf who wants to reach out to the moon (144). [30] All those who could possibly come there were present in order to take part in the svayamvara. Among them is also present Indera Jata, who had however let his wife Komala Devi know his plan before hand. [31] When he arrives there, he narrates that the bow from which the shot had to be made, must be the one made from the backbone of a saint, who had done penance for two hundred years. This bow was then given by Betara Guru to Betara Brahma and was kept safely by Maharesi Kali. [32] When Seri Rama sent his brother Laksemana to the bow, as a result he is becked by Laksemana. Then Laksemana

[R 32] decides not to undertake the task but to leave the task of shooting through forty palm trees to Seri Rama and thus it happened and again the bow stood upright, this time in front of Seri Rama. [33] But before that, the other princes tried their luck, naturally in vain. Even Ravana, who was also present, as has already been narrated, he also shoots but cannot manage to pierce more than thirtyeight trees.

[34] Finally, it is Seri Rama's turn. With his arrow Gande Vati he pierces through all the trees in one row and gets as a result the hand of princess Sita Devi, whose supernatural beauty as if of pure gold was almost unbearable to the eyes. She was like a nymph from Indera's heaven.

[35] Ravana is the least satisfied with the way things have turned out and Ravana orders Indera Jata to abduct Sita Devi but Indera Jata advises in no uncertain terms against this, because Seri Rama is after all an incarnation of Maha Bisnu and one should not insult him in this way. Finally Ravana accepts this and returns to Lanka Puri in extremely bad temper.

There are, however, others also who were dissatisfied. Four princes plot revenge against the young villain who has carried away the big prize from them and they lie near the city in ambush in order to abduct Sita Devi.

[S 68] After all the guests have left, Maharesi Kali complains to Seri Rama that a crow named Sura (Svara) comes on the nine last days of the waning moon or at full moon to his pots of honey and milk and makes them impure.

[69] Seri Rama promises to help him and waits for the crow and shoots the arrow which follows the bird everywhere on the sea, on to a rock in the sea, etc. Finally, the arrow and the bird sort out with each other and thereby the crow promises to better itself and the arrow returns back. Naturally Maharesi Kali is extremely surprised at the magic power of his son-in-law (145).

[R 36] But apparently Maharesi Kali did not consider the trials already carried out for being enough because he now hides Sita Devi among the one thousand statues of a temple and orders her to remain as motionless as the statues. Then he tells Seri Rama that his bride is not to be seen anywhere and that he would have to look for her. Laksemana gets the idea to look in this temple. Seri Rama then tickles one after the other all the statues and thus quickly recovers his lost beloved (146). Maharesi Kali felt ashamed of himself.

[37] It is decided to marry Sita Devi to Seri Rama at the time of the waxing moon. For fifteen days and fifteen nights the preparations continued and when finally everything

is ready, Sita Devi is decked up in royal splendour and Maharesi Kali calls for the bridegroom as the appointed hour has come.

[38] On an elephant under a yellow umbrella Seri Rama goes to his bride and both the newly weds sit down at the solemn place, Seri Rama to the right and Sita Devi to the left, comparable in their splendour to the Sun and the Moon (147). After the ceremony is over both take leave and the couple goes towards Mandura Pura.

[39] On the way he is suddenly attacked by the four princes who were lying in ambush with a big army of hundred thousand, two hundred thousand, and five hundred thousand horsemen [40] but the excellent Seri Rama kills two of the princes and the others subject themselves to him as a result (148).

[S 74] Seri Rama decided after he learnt that the kingdom of his father had been given over [75] to his brother Berdana not to continue towards Mandura Pura. In their wanderings which now follow, he comes with his retinue to a forest where a saint gives a warning to Laksemana. They will come in their journey to two ponds, [76] one of these has the characteristic that all those who bathe in it turn into animals, whereby the other can give back the human form again. The first pond is full of clear water and the other of muddy water. When Seri Rama and Sita Devi come to the first of the two lakes they take a bath in it despite the warning of Laksemana. They become monkeys and [77] start jumping around on the branches of the trees merrily. The horrified Laksemana catches his companions with a rope and throws them in the other pond with the result that they get their earlier form again but their sojourn in the trees had not been confined only to innocent jumping around and therefore Seri Rama now gets his seed taken out of Sita Devi's body through massage. This seed was wrapped up in a leaf and was carried by Bayu Bata, the Wind-god, to the mouth of Devi Anjani (149). She was carrying out penance in the middle of the sea (on the tip of a needle. Manuscript B: Batavia). As a result of this artificial insemination, she gives birth after sometime to a monkey with a human face. His ears were decorated with rings because that is what Seri Rama had wanted.

[R 41] Then they come to the place where earlier Jagini lost her life and considering this place to be suitable they decide to build a city there but before it is accomplished a new adventure awaited Sĕri Rama. The magically powerful prince Puspa Rama disturbs them and demands from Sĕri Rama to change his name which sounded like his (150). [42] Since our hero does not wish to abide by it, a fight takes place finally with Puspa Rama, after he

has brought his [R 43] wife and his brother to a safe place. After a day has passed by, it becomes clear that both are equally matched. Their fight was so fierce that Dasarata himself hurried there from Mandura Pura on hearing what was happening. Puspa Rama shot with mountain- and stone-arrows [44] which were pushed aside by Seri Rama's storm-arrows.

[45] After that Puspa Rama shot with reksasas and again with mountains. Seri Rama shot against the reksasas with his serpent-arrows and against the mountains with rain and lightning (151). Finally Rama takes out his all-powerful arrow Gande Vati from the quiver. Gande Vati speaks to him and assures him that it would kill Puspa Rama but that is not what Seri Rama was wanting to happen. So that arrow had to be satisfied following the enemy all over, in his palace, in heaven, on the sea and on this earth. When Puspa Rama finally falls down in obeisance before Seri Rama he sees his body is of [46] emerald-green colour and is shining as if it is well polished. Now he knows that it is Maha Bisnu himself standing in front of him and he willingly subjugates himself to him (152).

After Dasarata had returned with his sons to Mandura Pura, he is so impressed by Seri Rama's excellence and greatness, that he calls a holy man in order to take his advice about the coronation of his eldest son. The saint remained silent for a moment but says through the 'ilm firasat, interpretation of the indications, that everything would be favourable but Dasarata would not live any more after Seri Rama has become king.

[47] When finally the choice between Seri Rama, Berdana and Citradana was being discussed by his ministers, the hunch-backed servant overhears the conversation. This hunch backed maid was mistreated by Seri Rama. The maid reported everything to Balia Dari. [48] Fearing that Dasarata would not keep his promise given to her, Balia Dari went to the king and reminded him that her son must become king. As if struck by lightning, Dasarata covers himself in his kain (robe) and does not know what to do. In his desparation Seri Rama is called but is comforted by Balia Dari outside the room. She says that the king is sleeping and has ordered me to tell you that you would never become king (153). But Seri Rama, instead of being depressed at this news, shows himself very happy because now he can fulfil his dearest wish to become a resi. [49] After fourteen days have passed by and the auspicious moment for the coronation is gone, the chief priest goes to the king. Even he is kept away from the room, but he does not bother about this and forces his way to the king who has been lying in deep sleep and now wakes up. On his return the chief priest brings the sad news that the king overcome by grief is lying in death. [R 50] He says that

everything has been written in the stars, that Dasarata would die and Seri Rama would leave us. All the people are plunged into deep gloom.

Shortly afterwards Seri Rama took leave of his people, got on to the chariot with Sita Devi and Laksemana and accompanied by innumerable citizens, he goes into the wilderness. [51] Maharaja Dasarata does not survive this shock and dies soon after. Four persons go to Seri Rama in order to give him this news. They try to bring him back to the kingdom and also try to persuade him to give up his idea of becoming a maharesi. [52] During the night the prince manages to escape from his retinue and he sends back his chariot to the city. All the citizens follow this in the conviction that Seri Rama is sitting inside and that he has agreed to return as a result of their requests.

In the palace, in the meantime, the cremation ceremony of Maharaja Dasarata is prepared with great solemnity. The body is washed, embalmed and put into the golden coffin which was carried into the palace by the chief priest and four of his helpers. Now Berdana and Citradana have to ceremoniously light the pyre, though they were not supposed to do so because of their age and origin. [53] But Seri Rama was not present and therefore after the two pray for forgiveness for any sins they have committed unwillingly, they consign the body of the king to flames. In the meantime, Mandu Dari distributes food and money to the brahmins who were carrying out the ceremony (154).

[54] On their way into the wilderness Seri Rama and his people are shown a way by a maharesi and this way went to the left and they come to a river, they cross it with the help of the arrow Gande Vati (155) which Seri Rama shoots across the river. After that they came to a high mountain which is full of houses. From one of these emerges some one going for fishing. This man tells them that the penghulu (chief) of this village is a certain Ki Kukan, whose wife is called Ma(h)i Rani Suri. [55] He narrates that, once upon a time the village chief had caught three huge fish, who had square stones in their stomachs with some writing on them (156). The contents of the inscriptions were that somewhere in the sea is a golden stone which is meant for the grandson of the person who had written this inscription. A third part of the money he could keep for himself, but the rest he had to give to fakir miskin, holy men and the poor.

[56] After that they come to a resi called Virata Sekti. Seri Rama leaves his companions and in the safe keeping of his arrow Gande Vati and goes to the resi whom he brings to silence with a magic mantra, as the resi is reciting aloud Vedam, magic texts, to his people. For five days, they are given shelter.

[R 57] The following meeting is less peaceful. A reksasa flying through the air causes them some fearful moments as he abducts Sita Devi to present her to Maharaja Ravana. [58] It is only after Seri Rama pierces his neck with his arrow Gande Vati that the danger is overcome and Sita Devi returns to them (159). [59] Finally they construct a hut and settle down. Seri Rama sacrifices, recites Vedam, prays and through all this he manages to convert a few blades of grass to servants, in all seven women of fourteen years and five men. Now they were able to dedicate themselves to penance without being worried about household duties.

One day, Maharaja Ravana was sitting in his palace on his throne, surrounded by his thirtysix thousand wives and co-wives. It happened that the Sun disturbed him because it shone through the lattice-work of the window. Immediately he decided to punish the Sun for this (157) and ordered his brother-in-law Berga Singa to come to him as well as his brother Bibu Sanam. [60] He handed over Lanka Puri to the husband of his sister Sura Pandaki for its protection during his absence. Berga Singa fulfills this task of protecting Lanka Puri by unrolling his extremely long tongue and surrounding the city with it. But, however, as Maharaja Ravana returns at night after an abortive campaign, he thinks that the city is threatened by a big snake and therefore cuts Berga Singa's tongue in two in the middle. In this way he killed his brother-in-law without intending to do so. [61] His wife Sura Pandaki was naturally inconsolable and went crying loudly to the edge of the ocean, where she gave birth to a child, who was given the name Dersa Singa. [62] As the child grows up he becomes disciple of sage Gendari and learns from him how his father was killed, but also that according to astrological books Ravana's life was nearing its end. Dersa Singa gets many ideas to be able to take revenge and fulfil what had already been determined earlier. [63] For this he had to undergo penance for twelve years. After that he could get a magic sword. He would then take a bath in a lake and feed no less than a thousand brahmins. He would then definitely be able to kill Ravana. In order to be absolutely certain, he catches hold of a thousand brahmins to begin with and shuts them up in the cave and after that he dedicates himself to penance sitting in a bamboo-grove (158).

Ravana decided to go with his chief queen to Indera Jata in the kingdom of spirits because he has heard that the latter had a daughter which he (Ravana) wants to adopt as his child, [64] Again Bibu Sanam is ordered to look after Lanka Puri in his absence.

[R 64] While flying through the air Ravana and his wife are noticed by the monkey kings Balia and Semburana over whose land Lagur Katagina (160) they are flying. They are both extremely angry at the violation of their authority and decide [65] further delay to fight Ravana. Maharaja Hanuman also wanted to take part in the battle but he desists from doing so on the advice of Balia. The monkey kings fly into the air (161) and proper fight takes place which results in the defeat of Ravana who was thrown into the sea (162). He further has to see how his [66] queen Mandu Daki was abducted by Balia. The surprise of the monkies is very great [67] when they see the victorious Balia and Semburana with their beautiful booty. Such a noble princess as the queen of Ravana could not be left without servants, and there were only monkies and she-monkies. Hanuman goes out to abduct forty princesses to fulfil this need but he gets the specific order [68] not to kill anyone or to destroy any city. According to their desire he fulfils his task and the princesses are put at the disposal of Mandu Daki.

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After seven months she is pregnant.

After Ravana comes out of the sea where he had been thrown by Balia, he went [69] immediately to Běgavan Nila Cakrawa in order to get his advice. The saint promises him his support and goes together with four of his disciples with Ravana to Balia [70] but to begin with he sends his four disciples and Balia comes out personally to offer them his obeisance as befitting a prince towards a rěsi. [71] After they all gather in a city Nila Cakrava requests the return of Mandu Daki. Balia narrates that she is pregnant but this does not in any way hinder the rési from his purpose. He goes to Mandu Daki, cuts open her body, takes out the unborn child, and plants it [72] in the body of a goat by reciting some mantras. The wounds are healed and Mandu Daki can be given to Ravana but Balia is not agreeable to this. He requests for another woman, as the saint also knows what to do in this. Sacrifice is ordered. Hanuman is sent out to get the necessary flowers for it. The excited monkey brings back the complete mountain with all plants and everything (163). [73] Finally as the sacrifice was ready to begin, the saint created magically from some blades of grass a green frog and from this in turn comes out an extremely pretty woman who received the name Devi Běrma Komala. Balia married her. [74] In the mean time, the child of Balia and

Again Biba Singer is ordered to look

Mandu Daki was [R 74] born from the goat. It is a son, named Angada. Even the wife brought forth by magic gives birth to a child who is called Anila.

Hanuman who is filled with a longing to know who his father is, does penance in a tree. Balia as well wants to carry out penance for nine hundred years. His patih (Prime Minister) Jembuvana asked for the advice of astrological books which advised the king to put Sugriva his brother on the throne as his representative. Balia's club was put into the earth in front of the palace [75] as a guardian and now Balia goes happily to the mountain, accompanied by several ascetics living there. He carries out his plan.

(Now follows the prehistory of the heroes mentioned in the above story).

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Begavan Gutama the son of San Perdana was a very keen ascetic but his wife was not worthy of him. When he had once gone into retirement in order to undergo penance, she broke her marriage vows with a prince from the heaven of spirits.

[76] The birth of a child was the result that he got the name Balia. Her real daughter Anjani saw by chance how her mother received a cupu manik astagina (164), a magic box from one of the princes of the spirits and she took it away from her. She had to promise not to disclose her secrets to her father and also not to show the box to her brother. As the mother, however, again has a love affair with one of the princes, the result of this love affair is again, a son, called Sugriva. One day, Balia sees that his sister possesses a magic box. She quickly swallows this and narrates everything she knows about the love affair of her mother. [77] Thus her father learns of the infidelity of his wife. In order to find out whether the two boys are actually his sons, he drowns them in a magic pond, thereby subordinating them to an act of the justice of God. If they come out of the water as humans, then they are his own children, but if not, then the report of his son is true. ... The boys come out of water as monkies. After this change, they go to Lagur, where Balia becomes king and Sugriva becomes his mangkubumi, his minister. There he befriends Maharaja Semburana, a neighbour who had also been turned into a monkey as a result of committing adultery with one of the palace maid servants of Betara Indera's palace. As a gesture of friendship Maharaja Semburana presents Maharaja Balia with many beautiful women.

[78] His sister Anjani was, however, cursed by her father to remain standing with her mouth open (116). For a hundred years she does penance in the middle of the sea on the tip of a needle (165). As Seri Rama once sees her standing there, he falls in love with her (439).

[R 78] Seri Rama immediately gets an ejaculation as its result and then Seri Rama gets his sperm tied up and asks the wind god Raja Bayu Bata to carry it into Anjani's open mouth. Immediately her mouth closes by itself and after sometime she becomes pregnant. On a friday (168) she gives birth to a monkey and a voice from the heavens announces that the monkey should be called Hanuman (167).

[79] (This voice was of Sang Perdana, her grandfather). But Anjani's breasts are dry and as the young monkey seems to be an extraordinary being (as he spoke, astroids came out of his mouth) she sends him to find his own nourishment. In the west, there was nothing for the hungry monkey but in the east he saw the sun rising and taking it to be a big fruit, he immediately went after it. As he came near, he was naturally burnt by the tremendous heat. Sang Perdana noticed what was going on on the astroids and also that the water of the sea became hot where Hanuman had fallen. He immediately recognises that his great grandchild is in danger and he ordered the sun to bring Hanuman back to life. [30] The fish carry him on order of Sang Perdana and Maharaja Balia to a dry place and the Sun stands for his sake still for one hour (169).

Fully recovered Hanuman became a pupil of the Sun in order to learn the tricks of war against the gods and the humans. He completes his studies with great grandfather Sang Perdana. [81]. Finally he returns to his mother and proves by his deeds what excellent qualities he had. When he was approximately twelve years old, he asks again about his father but Anjani is not able to answer his question.

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In the meantime Maharaja Ravana returned to Lanka Puri with his queen and felt very much ashamed. He called a big council. Indera Jata came from the spiritual world, Patala Mahirani from the earth, Ganga Mahasura from the sea, and Kumba Kerna from his mountain residence. Bibu Sanam is [82] sent in order to invite all the other princes. When all have gathered, Ravana discloses his plan of attack on Bali. But Indera Jata reminds him of his promise to Begavan Nila Cakrava not to take revenge. Kumba Kerna, however, supports his brother and receives as reward his garment [83] and the task to go against Balia with an army and thus it takes place. On the way many hermitages are destroyed and the peaceful sages flee to Balia to bring him the bad news about the attack but there was nothing to fear because due to the enormous penance which Balia had carried out on the mountains. Kumba Kerna's army loses its way and wanders about for seven days without direction.

After his return to Lanka Puri Ravana is extremely angry with him as he ascribes the lack of success to Nila Cakrawa. Now Indera Jata secretly exchanges a glance with Bibu Sanam and both smile... [85] The sword Candra Vali which had been given by the gods to Dersa Singa was once noticed by Laksemana as it was floating through the air. He took it and wanted to present it to Seri Rama but before that he tried it out on the nearest bamboogrove. The excellent sword cuts through without trouble seven tree chunks and a further eight yojanas of forest was felled by it. Unfortunately, the son of Sura Pandaki was carrying out penance in this bamboo-grove (170) itself and was beheaded as a result. Seri Rama presented the sword to Laksemana.

[86] One day as Sura Pandaki wanted to visit her son, she saw that he had been beheaded and realized that no one other than Seri Rama or Laksemana who were wandering about in the forest for a long time could have done it. She immediately went to a neighbouring king who was also a relative but his minister gave her the advice not to take it up with the magically powerful Seri Rama and Laksemana because they were after all gods who were living on earth. [87] The only thing that could be done was that Sura Pandaki should marry Seri Rama. For this purpose she changed herself into a beautiful woman (As a reksasi, she of course had an ugly visage). Accompanied by two palace maids she went to Seri Rama who, however, rejects her proposal to live with her and sends her to his younger brother Laksemana (171). But even here she has little success. In fact Laksemana does not even turn around to look at her. Extremely angry at this she returns to Seri Rama, reproaches him, and spits at his and Sita Devi's face (172). Sita began to cry out of fear and although Seri Rama wanted to kill this insulting woman, he however decided not to do so. [88] He points out to her that he could not possibly marry her because Sita Devi was particularly faithful to him and sent her back to Laksemana with a letter. Sura Pandaki had, however, no idea that in the letter Rama told Laksemana to cut off her hands and nose (173). [89] As Laksemana is about to get hold of her in order to carry out the order, she suddenly changed herself into a great reksasi and flew into the air with him. In the meantime he was able to cut off her hands and nose and both of them fell down. [90] Immediately Sura Pandaki went to the prince, whose minister had caused all this misery. With a big army the prince went to the abode of Seri Rama in order to take revenge for Sura Pandaki's insult but his [91] complete army was destroyed and only the minister Semandara

[R 91] Sena managed to escape from the massacre. [92] As he tells Seri Rama that he is a brother of Dasarata's minister Maharama Sura he is spared from being killed through the arrow Gande Vati. In the meantime, the king himself had been killed and the minister went back home in order to settle the affairs of state.

[93] When Ravana noticed that his sister Sura Pandaki had remained away for so long he called for her through four maid-servants but she pretended to be ill and asked to be excused on these grounds. Even the sending of two bentaras (courtiers) had as little Finally, Ravana went himself to her and saw that she had gone to sleep, cover-[94] As he removed the robe slightly, he saw the mutilation. ed in her robe. Pandaki invented a false story as to what had happened. As a result of this Ravana became extremely angry and decided to punish Seri Rama. He called two reksasas who had the forms of dogs (174) and ordered them to take on the forms of a golden and a silver kijang (deer, 446). These animals were supposed to act as decoys to mislead Seri Rama from Sita Devi, [95] whom he wanted to abduct. To begin with he sent a crow to disturb Seri Rama's sacrifice. The crow flew close to Seri Rama with a piece of beaf in his claws to drop it into the sacrificial fire (175) but Seri Rama who was carrying out the sacrifice in order to get more magical powers threw a burning piece of wood from the sacrificial fire at the bird. The piece of wood followed the bird everywhere on sea as well as on earth, till it finally killed it (444).

In the meantime one of the sons of the king killed by Rama reaches Lanka Puri and reports about the fight. As a result Ravana's anger becomes even greater. [96] Ravana goes out with the two reksasas who had the forms of dogs. As they near their goal, they change themselves into kijang (deer) and start running up and down near the hermitage of Seri Rama. Sita Devi felt an extreme desire to possess both these beautiful animals and following her wish Seri Rama went out to catch them. He leaves Laksemana behind for the protection of his wife. When Seri Rama is farther away Ravana calls out in his voice asking for help. Sita Devi became extremely afraid and sent her brother-in-law Laksemana, after he had tried to disuade her from this, in order to help her husband. Before he went away, however, he with tears about what may happen now, made a circle around the hut with his [97] forefingers on the ground (176). Then he leaves Sita Devi in the protection of the Earth and requests the Earth to resist everything that would come into the magic direle.

[R 97] Now Ravana suddenly appeared, disguised as a brahmana. He spoke to Sita Devi and managed to get her to stretch her hand out of the magic circle. He caught her by the hand and carried her with him into the air. Crying and wailing she tore her robe into pieces and threw them down in order to clearly show the path they were taking [98] but then there came Jentayu the son of Ki Subrisu. Immediately the bird attacked the giant and a fight took place which sounded far out like thunder. Flames shot out of his beak, trees and stones were hurled through the air as they went on fighting for seven days [99] and neither of them would give way. Ravana thought of a trick, he suggested to his enemy to show him the place where his life was to be found and promised him to do the same about himself. Although Sita Devi tried to tell the bird in a sloka that [100] there was a trick behind this, Jentayu did not understand the verse and told Ravana innocently that his life was to be found in the tip of his wing. Ravana in turn pretended that his life was in his big toe and immediately exploited Jentayu's honesty (177). Sita Devi could just put her ring in the beak of the dying bird before Ravana continued his journey with her. Jentayu prays to heaven that Seri Rama may come there, but for the time being all he achieves is that two birds sit down near him on a tree and start to moralize. One says to the other that is what happens when one interferes in the affairs of some one else's wife.

[101] Seri Rama came back with both the kijang (deer), killed together with Laksemana and noticed that Sita Devi was to be seen nowhere. None of the servants knew anything about what had happened to Sita Devi. In desperation Seri Rama fell down on the ground in great pain and lay there for forty days. Laksemana his faithful brother took his head in his lap and cried and prayed to gods to give him the strength to be able to keep awake for his brother in distress. A voice comes down from heaven which announces that during the twelve years in which Sita Devi would be separated from Seri Rama, he would not sleep, eat or make love. Only after fifty days Seri Rama opened his eyes (178). All the servants were sent to Maharesi Kali of Darvati Purva and without any accompaniment the two brothers went out to search for Sita Devi.

[102] A new set of adventures and experiences began. To begin with they saw a bird which was sitting on a tree with its four wives. The bird laughed at Seri Rama and his carelessness with regard to his wife but for this he had his wives punished with a curse

of blindness. Then they met a bird who told them that he had seen Ravana flying through the air with a woman (179). As a reward for this important information Seri Rama

fulfils his wish to have a long neck. As the brothers go a little farther, they come to a fisherman, who had caught the same bird in a trap. They once again showed the bird their gratitude and redeemed him with the help of one of Seri Rama's rings.

[103] Once Laksemana was sent out to look far water. Seri Rama had shot an arrow for this purpose and Laksemana followed it. He found the water and brought it to his elder brother. But he did not like its taste. They went back to find out the cause and found the [104] bird Jentayu lying near the place from where the water was coming. Seri Rama received from him Sita Devi's ring and a report on all that had happened. At the same time the bird tells him to go to his brother Dasampani, who was carrying on penance at the shore of a sea in a cave. Once he had gone too near the sun and as a result his wings had been burnt, as he went with Jentayu to get some food from the mountain Kaf (180). The Sun advised him to carry out penance in Gendara Vanam till Maha Bisnu would incarnate himself in Seri Rama. When the latter would send his son Hanuman to him then his wings would once again become alright. After this narration the bird died and was cremated on a funeral pyre which Seri Rama held in his arms, because no place could be found which had not been walked on by men and on which this excellent bird could have been cremated.

[105] A buffalo who lived in the vicinity of the monkey kingdom of Lagur Katagina and who had been brought up by his mother in a cave, started one day a quarrel with his father who in turn was known for his strength and audacity. It was possible for him to overcome the old buffalo and to make himself king of the herd. In his presumptuousness he began to quarrel with everyone, including the ants. These in turn stated correctly that they were no opponents for him and sent him to Lagur Katagina to [106] Maharaja Balia. Full of the wish to fight, he went to Lagur Katagina and it was decided that the two would fight in a cave in a duel. Sugriva was put in as a representative of Balia and was told by his brother to consider him dead, if white blood comes out of the cave, if however red blood comes, then the buffalo has been killed. After sometime Sugriva sees both white and red blood flowing out of the cave. He thinks that his brother had been killed and closing the cave, [107] he proclaimed himself the king, but Maharaja Balia was not dead. He returned and in a fury threw Sugriva into the forest where he lay crying. The sand from his eyes made a hill around him and his tears became like a source of water [In 'S' he settles on

[R 107] a tree].

Hanuman went to Sang Perdana in order to learn who his father was and where he could find him. Sang Perdana told him that that person is his father, who would recognize his ear-rings. [108] Now monkey does not waste any more time and immediately goes to find him. During his search by chance he comes to a tree under which Seri Rama and Laksemana are resting. In order to find out whether one of them is his father, he tries to draw their attention to himself and plays all kinds of tricks on them. He steals the arrows of Seri Rama and throws down broken twigs, until Seri Rama who was sleeping is made aware of the white monkey by his brother [109] but Seri Rama gets angry because he does not see anything anywhere. Laksemana now requests the gods to make the leaves of the trees extremely small and Hanuman becomes visible for both of them. Seri Rama immediately notices that the monkey has ear-rings and thus the father recognizes his son. Hanuman who originally wanted to visit his uncle Balia, now wants to abstain from it. Seri Rama still sends him to his uncle and each one goes his own way. [110] Again it transpires that Laksemana goes in search of water following an arrow of his brother. He comes back with a liquid which this time had the bad taste of tears. As the brothers look into the matter, they find some fish bones lying at the foot of a mountain on the sea. From a cave a female reksasi comes out with black fingers, fire-red hair, seven ells long and the colour of her body was like a black cloud. It was Dati Jenggala, who had carried out penance for a thousand years and her father was Dasarata's charioteer. As she does not have anything bad in mind, she shows the two brothers the right way to where human beings are living Accordingly they have to go towards the right. [111] Seri Rama again feels thirsty, shoots an arrow and again Laksemana follows it and brings water which again tastes salty. Looking for the cause, they find the punished monkey king Sugriva sitting on the mountain of sand of his eyes. Hitting the earth with his club Seri Rama causes a lake to appear and the brothers take a bath in it. Then they worship the gods and speak to Sugriva (445). He comes there and tells them the reason of his pitiful plight. His brother has taken away his wife (181). Seri Rama is prepared to support him against his brother Balia, [112] if he is turn helps in his search for Sita Devi. Sugriva describes the strength of his brother and narrates that even Ravana himself could not overcome him. Further, even the reksasa Ke: Behara (S Becara) who had three thousand heads and six thousand arms and who caugh fish in the seas and roasted them in the sun, had been killed by Balia. [113] In order to

[R 113] get proof of Seri Rama's power, Sugriva requests him to cut down a whole forest of palm trees with his arrows. After Seri Rama has brought Laksemana and Sugriva to safety he carries out his task with great case. Thereby he cuts down everything into pieces. Huge fire bursts from the arrow Gande Vati, the mountains themselves spit forth fire and in a very short time the proud forest is nothing more than a waste land. Sugriva is temporarily convinced of the supernatural powers of his partner and the three go on their way happily. They now come to the seven nanka (pineapple) trees which are so long that seven people are needed to surround even one of them. The trees are standing on the back of a naga (dragon) and this dragon in turn is as large as a whole mountain-chain. When they reach there the animal is lying crooked but Seri Rama manages to get him to be straight, so that all the trees are standing in a straight row (454), then he shoots an arrow, which returns to him, after it had pierced through all the trees. [114] Then they come to a mountain of bones as high as the sky which apparently was the skeleton of the giant Keti Behara, who had been killed by Maharaja Balia. Sugriva narrates more details about this giant that he had no less than six thousand wives and that when these women wanted to bathe he stopped the water at the mouth of the river with his arm so that salty water could not mix with the sweet (182). Sugriva asks Seri Rama whether he would like to remove the bones with his arrow but Seri Rama considered it to be a sin for the arrow and hence kicks them with his big toe into the sea. Finally, they reach Lagur Katagina where Maharaja Balia is living. The king comes out on hearing Sugriva's challenge and a terrible fight ensues. [115] Sugriva places his confidence in Seri Rama's excellence but the latter does not dare to shoot one of the brothers, as both brothers resemble each other like two drops of water. Sugriva returns from the fight in a pitiable condition but his protector binds some leaves around his loins as a mark of recognition and colours his bottom red with pinang (bettlenut) juice (183). A second fight is more successful as Seri Rama can easily shoot [116] without the risk of hitting the wrong person from the edge of the forest. Balia, however, catches hold of the arrow before it could hit him but as he threw down the arrow on the advice of Seri Rama, the arrow once again took up the deadly work and pierced the monkey king. But he does not die as yet, as long as he holds on Seri Rama's hand (185). He uses this time to strongly criticise and condemn Sugriva's behaviour and at the same time to appoint Hanuman, as some one worthy of being his successor. Then he lets Seri Rama's hand off and dies. A powerful light emanates from his body which like an evening cloud ascends into the [R 117] sky (184). The royal body was washed, embalmed and ceremoniously cremated and everyone sang the praises of Seri Rama (187).

Mandu Dari, the widow of Dasarata dies (In S103 at this juncture Dasarata himself dies). Berdana and Citradana go to Seri Rama to request him to return after they had put the royal body in a golden coffin. [118] They were ceremoniously received by their half-brothers and the monkey kings assembled there: Sugriva, Hanuman, Jembuvana, Anila, Angada, Angada Mahabiru, Tula Nila, Karan Tuyul and others but they did not achieve their mission as Seri Rama did not accede to their wish. They could only take with them his sandals as a symbol of his rule. [119] They were accompanied for four days on their way back and then everything returned to normal.

[120] In the mean time Sugriva has kept quiet and he was reminded by Laksemana of his promise to help the brothers in their search for Sita Devi. It now comes out that [121] Sugriva was afraid of Semburana, a powerful monkey-king who was desirous of Balia's death to conquer his empire. Accompanied by Hanuman, Laksemana tells his brother about this and during this episode Hanuman's supernatural character becomes absolutely clear (while he is speaking stars fall out of his mouth). [122] Finally, Sugriva himself comes and a letter to Semburana is thought out. Hanuman undertakes to deliver it to the king. [123] Sugriva also accompanies him but does not mention his name, when Semburana learns that the letter is from Seri Rama. [124] He falls down unconscious. When he regains consciousness, he asks whether one could find a kind of proof that Seri Rama in actual fact is the incarnation of Maha Bisnu. When Hanuman discloses that Seri Rama's arrow is powerful through magic, the king feels quite relieved. Then he cannot possibly be Maha Bisnu, since Maha Bisnu is supposed to have three heads and four arms (186). Semburna now does not need to fear anything and closing the doors throws the envoys out, [125] but with a magic mantra, Hanuman puts the watchman to deep sleep, enters the city again and picks up the king. He flies with his valuable burden to Seri Rama, followed by Sugriva. There he regains his consciousness by being sprinkled with water from Seri Rama's magic arrow and he surrenders himself without further delay to Seri Rama (188). [126] His son Nila Buta looks for him in the form of a golden fly (189). After he has found his father he (fly) sits on his ear and manages to talk to him in this way. Told by his father about what has happened, he too decides to subject himself to Seri Rama and again takes on the form of a monkey. [R 127] The army of Semburana now joins that of Sugriva.

[128] A big war council is now called and all the commanders are taken into considera-[129] From the books of prophecy they learn that Sita Devi, though not immediately in danger, has however decided on the plan to kill herself, if help does not come soon. [130] Seri Rama now considers ways and means to try and contact her and calls for Hanuman, who is described to him as the small monkey (kera kecil) with dirty eyes and nose. Seri Rama requests him to undertake a preliminary trip and the monkey agrees on the condition that he is allowed to eat with Seri Rama from the same leaf before he sets out on this mission. Seri Rama agrees to that on the condition that Hanuman washes himself in the sea. This happens and Hanuman returns completely clean. Laksemana now draws a dividing line on the banana leaf from which both are supposed to eat, then they eat together (190). Finally, Seri Rama gives his son even a ring. [131] Hanuman faces a special problem, when he has to jump from the mainland to Lanka Puri. He cannot find any place which is firm enough to support him in his adventurous effort. Finally, he finds his refuge in the arms of Seri Rama and from there he takes his jump (191). On the way he looses his semen which is swallowed by the queen of fish. When he finally lands on solid ground, he has finally arrived in Lanka Puri, near the home of a holy man. He receives from him a pot of rice which due to the supernatural power of the holy man can never become empty. At the same time, he shows the right path to the palace. Hanuman takes on the form of a Brahmin and comes to a well from which forty women of the palace are drawing out water. From their conversation he learns that this water is meant for Sita Devi and quickly he throws the ring into one of the pitchers. The purpose is thus achieved. [132] Sita Devi calls the Brahmin and Hanuman soon appears to her in his proper form. Sita Devi had once made a vow never to be with another man except with Seri Rama but no need, from her breasts mother-milk comes out which Hanuman drinks from a bananz leaf (192). Then she gives him mangoes, fruits from Ravana's iron-barred garden. [133] These fruit were so much enjoyed by Hanuman that he himself went to search for the mango tree. To achieve this end he takes on again the form of a small monkey and wins the confidence of the watchmen by telling them that he will remove the fallen leaves. But after they have gone to sleep, he plucks all the mangoes from the trees, till they are bare. This crime could not remain unpunished. Hanuman was captured and was brought before Ravana. The people tried to kill him in all ways but they did not succeed. [R 134] Then

the monkey becomes even more audacious. He rolls up his tail and sits on it as if on a throne (193). Ravana is extremely angry but Bibu Sanam warns him about a prophesy that Lanka Puri would once be totally destroyed by a monkey. Now, Hanuman himself suggested that he should be wrapped up in rags and set on fire. His advice was followed but in the end they themselves suffered because Hanuman started becoming bigger and bigger. Big store-houses of cloth were used up. Finally, they managed to wrap him completely and set him on fire. The cloth is burnt but the fire, however, does not harm Hanuman in the least. On the contrary he jumped up and ran with a burning piece of cloth on his tail through the houses and streets. Lanka Puri is set ablaze. Only the house in which Sita Devi was living remains unharmed. Hanuman extinguishes his burning tail in the sea and a mighty magician from the heaven of the spirits has to help Ravana construct a new city. After Hanuman has extinguished his tail in the water, [135] he goes to Sita Devi and suggests to her that he would carry her on his back to Seri Rama. She, however, rejects this suggestion on the ground that she does not wish to have anything to do with Seri Rama until he comes in person to fetch her and kill Ravana. She advised him to make his jump over the sea from Mount Katagaran where on a black stone footprints of Adam were to be found (194). He did that. He worshipped and kissed the stone and reached the other side in good condition. He then handed over to Seri Rama a small casket with jewels and wonderful incense which Sita Devi had sent for him. [136] The monkey was, however, given a strong scolding for having burnt down Lanka Puri.

Finally, the time came to start the battle and to lead the army of monkeys to Ravana's castle. But, how were they to cross the ocean. Hanuman knew the answer. A dam had to be constructed. Immediately the work on the dam began but before that huge armies were assembled. Sugriva's army measured five yojanas (195). Angada's as well. The armies of kings three yojanas and Nila Buta's also three yojanas. Two commanders of Nila Angada go out to look for a suitable cape and for this purpose they took with them an army of forty thousand (40,000) monkeys. While on the journey, they came across a holy man who sat in front of a cave and was spinning yarn (196). Betara Indera had once given him birth from a tree and had made him the guard of a lake where the inhabitants of the heavens came to bathe. He asked the commanders to climb on to his left arm which he then lifted in the air so that they could see from on high the island of Lanka Puri. The holy man requested a favour as reward.

[R 136] There was a reksasa king, called Jaya Singa, who was rebelling against the gods and the holy man asked them to subdue Jaya Singa. [137] The two commanders returned to Seri Rama to report their experiences. Immediately Seri Rama gave the order to cut down the forests in the vicinity and to throw the trees into the ocean for constructing to cut down the forests in the vicinity and to throw the trees into the ocean for constructing the dam. Within a short time not even a single tree remained standing. During all this the dam. Within a short time not even a single tree remained standing. During all this Seri Rama was taken by the mysterious holy man to have a look at the bathing base of the gods and even to taste of Indera's fruits.

[138] After this Seri Rama sends an envoy with army to Jaya Singa and gave the order to attack him if he did not change his ways. Jaya Singa, however, did not bother about Seri Rama at all and sent back message that Seri Rama would be better advised to mind his own business. After that Seri Rama sent out Nila Angada to Jaya Singa the reksasa king. Nila Angada conquered him with a sword in his hand. [140] In the mean time, the construction of the dam was progressing but the mountains which the monkeys threw into the sea, disappeared in the water and it appeared as if all the work was in vain. Seri Rama became extremely angry and took the bow in his hand and threatened to shoot into the sea. That very moment a woman came out of the waves, who explained to him that she was sent by Maha Bisnu. She further told him that at that place in the sea there was a hole through which one could go into the underworld. The water in this hole is called ma'al hayat (water of life). If Seri Rama manages to have his warriors drink this, they would become invincible. Hanuman threw a big mountain into the sea so that the water shot up. The monkeys now competed with each other to get a drink of the same (197). On the following day the construction of the dam was completed. casile. But, how were they to cross the occan. Hanumun knew the answer. A dam had to

Sita Devi was enclosed in a garden with seven palaces and had a special watch-woman. Seri Jati, the daughter of Bibu Sanam. [141] Ravana came to her once again in order to persuade her to become his. This time she did not threaten as usual to kill herself but promises to belong to him, if he can bring her the head of Seri Rama. Immediately Ravana went back, called two servants, and had them beheaded. He decorated these heads with crown and sent them to Sita Devi, as the heads of Seri Rama and Seri Laksemana (S143 narrates in detail the last hours of the two youth). Sita Devi concedes that she had lost and lets Ravana know that he can come to her as soon as he has bathed. After Ravana had gone away, she took a keris (small dagger) and wanted to kill herself. Seri Jati, however, explained to her the story of the origin of the two heads, and thus prevented the suicide. Bent in her love for Sita Devi, she goes even further and goes to Seri Rama whose loin cloth she got

[R 141] as a sign that he was alive and well. Accompanied by Hanuman she went back to Sita Devi, knowing the exact nature of Ravana's plans, [142] Sita Devi now refused to give herself to the king, when he came to her after his bath, according to the agreement. The rejected lover was extremely angry but he kept quiet and shut her up in an iron castle with a lot of guards.

In the mean time, Ravana sent a spy (198) to the camp of his opponent, who took on the form of a monkey for the purpose. At the same time, he gave an order to Ganga Mahasura (199) to destroy the dam (217). [143] At once Ravana's son passes the order on to the fish, who try in all possible ways to undermine the construction of the dam. Hanuman knows what to do. He churns up the sea with his tail till the water becomes quite muddy and the fish came up to the surface where they are easily caught. Only a big crab remains behind who carries on the work of destroying the dam. Hanuman again put his tail into the sea. The crab bit into the tail and was immediately flown into the air by Hanuman. When they came to a forest, the crab fell down. The whole forest is turned into a plain as a result of this fall. It was quickly killed and although all the monkeys ate from the crab but the animal was so large that they were not able to eat up all of him.

Now Seri Rama can finally begin with his attack on Lanka Puri but his minister (patih) Jembuvana (200) wants him to be careful as Ravana had constructed a palace with seventeen umbrellas for Betari Brahma. Seri Rama would have to try to hit the top which was glowing like the sun. The next morning Seri Rama went on his way, using Hanuman as his vehicle who for this purpose had got a thousand heads and two thousand arms.

[144] Ravana sat with Bibu Sanam on top of his new palace and he had the above-mentioned umbrellas with him. Bibu Sanam had advised him to give back Sita Devi but of course Ravana does not wish to do anything like that. Finally a tremendous fight ensues between the two. Bibu Sanam takes leave of him and goes with his followers to Seri Rama. Indera Jata had as well advised him to do the same. Ravana, however, does not listen to him and sends on the following day reconnoitering troops into the enemy camp. His people, however, were killed and destroyed (201). [145] Ravana considers the time to be ripe to have brother Kumba Kerna woken up, but this order is easier given than carried out. It is impossible to wake up the sleeping giant. Four maid-servants are sent into his huge

learnt that she was doing this in order to bethe her son Athi Rani, who was apposed to be

nostrils to pull at his hair in the nose but they were blown away by sneeze. Finally, they are able to wake him up by pulling the hairs on his legs (According to S 160 only one hair). After he has been awakened, he learns that his brother is ready to give up half of his kingdom if it would be possible to kill Seri Rama. Kumba Kerna promises to do his best and went the next day with his commanders [146] to the battle. The battle, however, is short, went the next day with his commanders [146] to the battle. His commanders also have the same Kumba Kerna is killed, hit by Seri Rama in the neck. His commanders also have the same fate. Seri Rama thus perpetrates after that a terrible massacre with the club of the slain giant.

After fourteen days have passed, Seri Rama sent Hanuman with a letter to Ravana, demanding the return of Sita Devi. Ravana appears to be agreeable to this demand on the condition that Laksemana is given in exchange as a penance for the illtreatment of Sura Pandaki (202). As Hanuman, however, explains to the king the exact nature of what went on between Laksemana and Sura Pandaki, he does not want to know anything about his (Hanuman's) offer and the negotiations are disrupted. The monkey left the palace in the most ill-mannered way.

[147] Now Ravana called his son Bala Bisa (203), who was living under the earth in a stone palace. Bibu Sanam, in whom Seri Rama had an excellent supporter, learns about this from his wise books and warns in particular about the eyes of Bala Bisa which have the power to burn anyone alive to ashes they look at. In order to make this dangerous enemy harmless, Seri Rama gets a huge mirror made. As on the following morning, Bala Bisa appears and his eyelids are opened by his two servants, Hanuman holds up the mirror with his tail in front of his face so that be burns himself to death. Immediately after this, the heads of the servants hit the umbrellas of Ravana and break them into pieces.

[148] Now there follows a battle between Jembuvana and one of Ravana's commanders which naturally results in the defeat of the latter, but then something happens which threatens to change the fate of the battle. Ravana's son Patala Mahi Rani (204) appears from the underworld and in the form of Hanuman goes into the camp of the enemy. In the night, he is able to carry off Seri Rama in his sleep into his subterranean palace Berhala Sudamani. When the real Hanuman came to pay his obeisance to Seri Rama he found to his horror that Seri Rama had disappeared. Immediately he left to look for him. [149] On the way, he saw somewhere a woman, who was producing water with a golden bucket and learnt that she was doing this in order to bathe her son Atan Rani, who was supposed to be

killed by Patali Maha Rani. [R 149] Hanuman took on the form of a lizard and crept into the bucket and finally reached the iron castle. As this bucket was weighed by the door-keeper, it seemed to be so heavy that the balance broke and Hanuman appeared. He immediately began to behave like a wild man. He broke down one of the gates and hit the door-keeper whose name was Hanuman Tugangah (205) so that he became unconscious. After he destroyed many more buildings but when the door-keeper regained consciousness, they both indulge in a duel and both seemed to be equally matched for each other. [150] Finally it comes out that Hanuman Tugangah was the son of Hanuman. His mother was the queen of the fish who had swallowed Hanuman's semen which he lost while jumping over the ocean (206). Ganga Mahasura the son of Ravana and the goddess of the sea had adopted the child:

Under this strong protection Hanuman managed to get into the palace and found Seri Rama still asleep. His first work was to twist the necks of all the reksasas who were set up as guards. After that he took into the air Seri Rama who was lying on his bed, alongwith all other paraphernalia. The theft gets known and Patala Mahi Rani follows Hanuman but Hanuman is able to throw him down on earth. After Hanuman brings his precious burden back into the camp, Seri Rama is brought back to consciousness. The hero immediately wants to take revenge on this unknown enemy and Patala Mahi Rani pays for his misdeed with death because Seri Rama pierced one of his arrows into his neck (207). [151] Hanuman Tugangah gets as a reward Seri Rama's necklace (In S 175, Patala disguises himself as Sugriva but his attempt fails. Then he comes disguised as Jembuvana, as Bibu Sanam and finally as Hanuman 176. In 177 he goes into the underworld through a lotus flower. Hanuman also goes through a lotus flower. 178 Hanuman creeps into the bucket of the woman called Niva Rani, as a bird 181.) (208).

[S 187] Indëra Jata and other sons of Ravana—Turi Kaya, Turi Sirah and Narantaka—get the order to participate in the battles. [188] Indëra Jata performs a sacrifice before this. The others immediately attack the army but all are killed.

[192] Even Ganga Mahasura who has come out of the sea, is killed after having been hit [194] in the neck by an arrow of Seri Rama. Indera Jata now goes to his father and complains that already seven of his brothers had been killed, therefore, it is time to fight the enemy with other means. [195] He suggests to fight Seri Rama from kainderaan (the heaven of spirits). As this advice is followed it is not possible to defend oneself from this

attack of heaven, [S 196] Hanuman suggests that Geruda Mahabiru be called. He comes and protects both the brothers with his wings for forty days against the hail of stones of Indera Jata. Seri Rama, however, is still hit [197] and carried away unconscious. Anila Angada goes to the mountain of Nabi Adam in order to get medicinal herbs to revive the hero. Indera Jata is able to hit his opponents even a second time. With the help of magic arrows he puts the whole army to sleep. Only Bibu Sanam the magician remained awake and drives Indera Jata away as he tries to enter the camp and to start [199] a massacre of unarmed sleeping soldiers. Only the monkeys escaped who were sleeping in the trees.

[200] Hanuman goes to the mountain Malaya Kiri in order to get medicinal herbs after survivors have been woken up. Since he cannot find the herbs, he brings the whole mountain with him but he carries it back to its original place so that the reksassas cannot benefit from it.

[R 152] Ravana now tries a new trick. He ordered Indera Jata to make an artificial Sita Devi appear and to kill this appearance in front of Seri Rama, after his son Indera Jata had forbidden him to kill the real Sita Devi (208). As Hanuman was once going around as a spy he learnt the news of her death and gave this report to his master, who immediately fainted on hearing it. [153] When he regains consciousness, Sugriva tells him that in a dream he had seen Sita Devi, believed to be dead, living. It was decided to send out Hanuman again to find out the facts. From a bird he learns then very soon that the earlier news was false. (In S Hanuman himself sees her sitting when he comes near her in the form of a beetle.) At the same time he sees that Indera Jata is performing a sacrifice in order to pick up strength for the battle. About both these important facts he immediately reports to Seri Rama. He in turn requests Bibu Sanam to go and disturb the sacrifice of Indera Jata.

[154] In the ensuing fight Indera Jata's army is defeated and the sacrifice is destroyed by Hanuman who throws a mountain on the place of sacrifice (209). Now Indera Jata himself comes into the fray. First of all he takes a [155] touching farewell from his wife and then goes into the battle-field (210). Laksemana chooses him as his particular enemy but [156] Hanuman also courageously helps because he destroys Indera Jata's chariot with a mountain. Finally even Seri Rama enters the fight and shoots his arrow Gande Vati first of all at Indera Jata's right arm, then his left arm and finally his neck and thus the prince dies under mighty signs (In S the arrow of Indera Jata was turned by [157] Bibu Sanam

into a rain of flowers). Seri Rama himself brings Ravana the news of the death of Indera Jata and on hearing this Ravana breaks out in loud lamentation (In S 215 he throws the head of Indera Jata to Jama Menteri). The wife of the slain hero does not wish to live after the death of her husband and goes to the body with loud and pitiable lamentations. [158] She blames Ravana for all that has happened, who becomes so angry at this that he rushes at Komala Devi with his sword but his ministers are able to pacify his anger and the Maharaja takes the body of his favourite son on to his ten heads and carries it into the palace. A big immolation ceremony is held and thereby princess Komala Devi carries out her plan to commit sati (i.e. to burn herself with the dead body of her consort). [159] Indera Jata's ashes are collected together in a golden urn.

Mandu Daki demands from her husband that Sita Devi be returned to Seri Rama but Ravana does not pay any heed to her.

Forty days after the death of Indera Jata, Maharaja Banda Nala is called, [160] who has been carrying out penance for three hundred years. This king is not ready to fall in with the plans of Ravana and advises him to try and to win over Maharaja Perdana Varna. For seven days the latter is feted by the ruler of Lanka Puri and after that he declared himself ready to fight. Seri Rama is warned again by Bibu Sanam and he sends Hanuman to fight the new enemy. The fight goes on for a long time. Finally, Seri Rama brings it to an end [161] by piercing his neck with an arrow. Even this fighter is honoured by Ravana with a ceremonious cremation.

The next victim of Seri Rama's feared arrow is Mula Patani who lives in the seven hells. He has five hundred heads and two thousand arms but this does not help him [162] and he is also killed like the others.

Finally, after all the army at his disposal has been killed Maharaja Ravana personally goes into the battle.

He is immediately able [163] to wound Laksemana, in order to displace him from the battle. Hanuman, however, heals him. Again he goes in search of medicinal herbs and again he brings back the whole mountain which this time he throws into the sea (In S 231 Ravana sends a reksasa after him, who takes on the form of a holy man. Hanuman asks him for water. He is sent by the holy man to a nearby pond. When Hanuman tries to drink from

[R 163] it, he is swallowed up by a crocodile. Inside the body Hanuman kicks his way out of the enemy. As a result it changes into a heavenly nymph who had been cursed to take on this form by Indera. The reksasa in the form of a holy man is dealt with later).

The healing of Laksemana is, however, not completed through the herbs alone as the grinding-stone for the herbs had to be fetched but this is in the possession of Ravana himself. In the form of a green-fly, Hanuman enters Ravana's palace without any difficulty. Once inside, he takes on his true form and going to the bed of Ravana and Mandu Daki he knots their hair together (In S 234ff. Hanuman creeps as an ant into the nose of a golden dragon and thus gets into the palace). After that he takes the grinding-stone away and returns to the camp. Now the arrow can be taken out of Laksemana's wound. In the meantime, Ravana has woken up and sees what has happened to his hair. Hanuman calls him from a distance that he can become free only if Mandu Daki hits him on the head. Ravana does not see any other way out of the situation and allows his wife to hit him on the head (211) (In S 236 it is narrated, that as a result of this beating on the head Ravana can be overcome by his enemy).

[164] Before Ravana goes to battle for the last time he performs a sacrifice. Hanuman tries to disturb the ceremony by throwing down a mountain on it just as he had done in the case of Indera Jata. When he does not succeed in this, following the advice of Bibu Sanam, the audacious monkey abducts Mandu Daki and carries her to Ravana. He cannot even protest against this. The insulting words of Hanuman are more than he can bear and as a result the ceremony is broken off (In S there is a story, in which Hanuman goes to Sita Devi and learns from her where Ravana's weak point is).

*

Now finally, a terrible fight between Maharaja Ravana and Seri Rama [165] starts, a fight more terrible than has ever taken place before. Even though nine of the ten heads of the reksasa king have been shot off and each one of them was brought by Hanuman to Mandu Daki yet Maharaja Ravana was not overcome. Hanuman manages to steal the sword of the king which was guarded by Mandu Daki and (S) thus to rob him of his powers (212). (In S it is narrated that although all his limbs and heads grow again, yet all that is of no told by Sita Devi as his weak spot. As a result of this apparently unimportant shot the king of the giants falls. Seri Rama cuts him with his sword into two parts, but even now the giant does not die.

After overcoming Ravana, Sĕri Rama [R 165] went inside his palace where he meets Sita Devi but he demands of her that she undergo the ordeal by fire in order to cleanse herself from all suspicion about having given herself to Ravana. A pyre is constructed and [166] Sita Devi passes the test and the couple are again happily united.

From all sides, the kings come to offer them their obeisance. Among them are also Berdana and Citradana, who bring as presents big pearls from the sea. [167] Suddenly the rumour spreads that Ravana who is lying at the foot of the mountain Serandib (Suvarnadvīpa) is again coming back to life. Seri Rama accompanied by the entire assembly goes there and they happily see the light of the giant, who though cut in two, allows his blood to flow out like a river. After that they return to take part in other events. Bibu Sanam the faithful ally of Seri Rama, marries 'his' (Rama's) sister Kikuvi Devi. Then Maharesi Kali and his wife come and bring with them the iron casket, in which Sita Devi was found. As if like a miracle Mandu Daki recognises Sita Devi, her daughter. From her breasts mother milk starts flowing into the mouth of her daughter.

- [168] Bërdana and Citradana return to their country, accompanied by their brother for some distance. After that Sëri Rama founds a city, Durya Pura, where he brings together the best of humans and things. Hanuman is made the commander-in-chief of all his armies.
- [169] Laksemana becomes raja anom (crown prince), Bibu Sanam became his mangkubumi (chief minister). After all this has been regulated in this manner, Seri Rama desires to have a son of his own.

Maharësi Kali knows what to do. He gives two bezoar stones (213) and after sometime Sita Devi becomes pregnant.

But before she gives birth to the child, something happens which brings about a complete change in the situation. Kikuvi Devi desired to know how Ravana actually looked like and Sita Devi in order to carry out her wish drew his portrait. Kikuvi Devi placed this portrait on Sita Devi's breast while she was asleep. Seri Rama finds her like this and assumes that Sita Devi has [170] inclination towards Ravana. As he confronts her with this, she leaves him with the words that during her absence all the animals would become silent and Kikuvi Devi also would be struck with dumbness, if she is innocent. After that she goes to her foster-father Maharesi Kali who accepts her gladly.

[171] There she gives brith to a son called Tilavi (214). Maharesi Kali went one day to take bath with the child, but somehow he loses sight of him. He thinks that he has got lost and creates by magic from a few blades of grass a second Tilavi but when he comes back home, he sees that the child has found his way back home and was with the mother.

[R 171] Despite this the second boy called Kusi grows up happily with his brother.

For twelve years Sita Devi remains with her foster father and all these twelve years the animals remained silent. [172] After that Seri Rama wanted to bring her back and he puts Bibu Sanam as his representative and gave him Hanuman as a support and after that left for Maharesi Kali's hermitage.

(In the manuscripts B and 141 from Batavia, Seri Rama and Laksemana change themselves into frogs. San Perdana catches them and gives them to Hanuman as toys and he in turn frees the brothers).

[S 264] On the way, Rama goes on a deer hunt and as chance would have it Sita Devi's sons were also on the hunt. [265] A quarrel arose between the boys and Laksemana about the deer. Laksemana is finally taken captive and is brought to Maharesi Kali who recognizes him and immediately sets him free. Soon after this Seri Rama naturally recognizes his sons also.

Full of happiness [R 172] they all return to Durya Pura, where the animals get back their voice and Kikuvi Devi also can speak again. She asks for pardon. Through some marriages, the bonds of friendship are made stronger: Talavi marries princess Indera Kusuma Devi the daughter of Indera Jata (In S 271 Laksemana fetches the princess on the back of Geruda Mahabiru). Kusi marries the daughter of Ganga Mahasura called Ganga Surani Devi.

Hanuman Tugangah (here called Tamnat Ganga) [S 275] marries the daughter of Amir Arab (215) who had played [276] a role in the fight between Seri Rama and Patala Mahi Rani, whom he succeeded as the king. The marriages keep taking place. The daughters of the reksassas were married to the leaders of the army of monkeys.

[277] Bibu Sanam's sons married the daughters of Berdana and Citradana.

[278] Tilavi marries the daughter of Bibu Sanam and Kikuvi Devi as his second wife but she did not want to live with him. On a journey to Lanka Puri, as she desired to go back home, Seri Rama gives her Hanuman as an escort but he falls in love with the young woman and taking the form of her husband sleeps with her. Later when Tilavi realizes that his wife is no longer a virgin and the trick comes out, a tremendous fight ensues between him and Hanuman. Tilavi is supported in this by Kusi. [279] Seri Rama now comes as a judge between them and [280] prays to the gods to give back Tilavi's wife her virginity. [284] But from now onwards Tilavi moves from his second wife. He dedicates himself under the orders of his father toward preparing himself for kingship, which would soon fall on him.

[R 173] Seri Rama then founds a second smaller city Ayodya Pura near the hermitages

[R 173] of holy men and settles down there for the rest of his life (216). [S 284] (The name Ayodya Pura is not mentioned but a përtapan or place where penance is carried out). For forty years Sëri Rama and Sita Devi lived as ascetics and returned again dari nëgari yan fanā', kanegari yan bakā'; from the mortal world to the immortal heaven (219).

Ш

THE JAVANESE RAMA LEGEND

After we have got to know in the last chapter the contents of Hikayat Seri Rama, we now have at our disposal a pretty complete picture of the Rama legend for the Malay countries, but the above-mentioned version does not hold good for Java at all. We come across a number of big and small variations in the Javanese legends like Rama, Serat Rama, Rama Keling, Rama Kavi and other such stories which are concerned with our hero. Therefore, it is also necessary to collect the deviations from them. But of course, we can not possibly try to be completely exhaustive. Necessarily, we have to proceed somewhat eclectically, if we do not wish our material to go beyond a certain limit. In order to be able to use the material collected properly, it is thus clear that we shall collect as much as possible of such material as stands in some relation to the material collected already.

Let us consider in short for this purpose the manner of the stories.

We can differentiate between two groups in continuation of the comparative study of Rāma legends by Juynboll (220). Let us begin with the work of Yasa di Pura, the Serat Rama which enjoys popularity in literary circles. It is a pretty exact version of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin to which group it belongs and is free from the distorted versions of the Malay Hikayats (221). One can immediately notice the latter, if one even briefly goes through Winter's table of contents, "without following Vālmīki literally", this group is, however, so close to the epic that the reason for the existing deviations is to be found in the fact that partly, the author followed a version not known to us and partly due to certain errors of understanding.

The second group of the Rama legend is the one, which is found in the Rama Keling and in the Serat Kandas. This group shows a marked similarity to the Malay hikayats (222). The story or at least parts from it have been used later in the Rama-lakons, short episodes which are presented in excerpts and have been cut out for representation through the dalang (223).

Therefore, what is shown in the wayang, is thus not the first but the second group. The narrator takes his material from Serat Kanda and Rama Keling as his Malay colleague takes his material from the hikayats. In the Serat Kanda ning ringit purva, as the full title is called, we find the Rama legend in a form which he was able to use as a historical episode. Everyone knows how Javanese national history is interwoven with the shadow play and how layang and wayang, the written and oral traditions of Rama go hand in hand as Brandes has already noted (224).

If we compare this story with the first group, we find that Rama Keling, the Rama story from Serat Kandas and Rama-lakons form a unit.

On the other hand, the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa was most probably used as a source for a singing with Javanese shadow play, that means aphorisms which were used, often without being understood, for decoration in wayang performances. In particular, the Rāmāyaṇa is quoted when giants come on the scene irrespective of the fact, when this took place and also in such cases where the Rāma legend does not build the basis of the material for the particular drama (225). Despite this fact, the first group has had some influence on the history of the Rāma story in wayang. We will soon give proof of this but the 'influence' is purely superficial and at no time is the Rāmāyaṇa the base.

If we now look at the stories more exactly and we naturally look at such portions, where the deviations are most marked, we will put aside the first group to the point where we can use the material from it for our purpose. From the second group we choose the Serat Kanda, i.e. the Rāma legend contained in it, as an example of the Rāma legend as understood in Java. During the course of this we shall take up variations from other versions as complements whereever it is felt necessary.

As I have already mentioned above, the Rāma legend occurs in the Serat Kanda as a historical episode or perhaps better as a historical element. The work begins with the story of Nabi Adam in Měkah, with the story of his sons Abil and Kabil, with the story of the Satan Idajil who also calls himself Manik Maya and of the direct descendants of Nabi Adam. After that there follows a strange mixture of Islam and Hindu figures, such as Nabi Nuh (Noah), Devi Umā, Sang Hyang Bayu (Vayu): After that the Great Flood from which the Satan Idajil manages to escape by slipping into Noah's Arc. Then follows the birth of Visnu and Basuki (Vāsuki) which introduces a detailed mythology and thereby the Islamic figures recede into the background. This mythology is then the bridge to the genealogy of the mythical Javanese rulers.

The story of Rama and Rahwana, as Ravana is called here, starts in canto 22. But only in canto 46 we have the report of Rāma's birth. All the cantos in between are dedicated to the prehistory of both the rulers and their dynasties. We find here also the stories of Rāvana placed in front which are reported in the last portion of Vālmīki's work. This also connects the further happenings as a unit. A very short survey of the cantos now follows (437):

[SK 22] The king of the demons, Kuvaca Indra had conquered Giling Vesi on Brama. He has three sons, Niti Kuvaca (226), Daitya Sumangli (227) and Jambu Mangli. He has

also a daughter — Citravati (228). The country Giling Vesi is now named as Indrapuri and the son Niti Kuvaca is put up as king over Bruvaspurva.

[SK 23] It becomes known to the inhabitants of heaven that Kuvaca Indra has decided to attack them. Out of fear of the powerful demons, kings are sent to Sritrusta, Srigati's son is sent to Adiserat (229), Citragada's son to Bramaraja, the great-grandson of Nerada. Adiserat is crowned as Prince by the lord of the worlds over Bruvaskandi in order to fight Kuvaca Indra. Bramaraja is supposed to become king of Indrapuri and Sritrusta has to agree to offer his help against the promise that his descendants will at one time become kings over all Java.

[SK 24] The task is rightly fulfilled. Kuvaca Indra is killed and his dead body disappears. Bramaraja (230) becomes king of Indrapuri in his place and [SK 25] marries the daughter of the deceased king, Citravati, who bears him a son Citrabaha. From his second wife Sastravati, he has the following children: Sakisar (231), Namadita (Kamadita), Srimandala. Adiserat becomes king over Bruvaskanda (232).

[SK 26] Episode of Visnu and Prativi and their unsanctioned relationship which is revealed by the dragon Naga Pratala, follows.

[SK 27] Adiserat Anyokravati, as the full name of the king of Bruvaskandi goes, has a monkey Sapardan (233) as his minister and a demon Batlawijan. His subjects have heads of snakes, tigers, bulls or senuk (234). The king marries the nymph Nukmanontari, who was presented to him by the inhabitants of heaven. It so happens that the king Kalamuka asks for the hand of Adiserat's sister Citravulan in marriage and at the same time the king Tritrusta also does the same. The former had come first with his proposal and received from Adiserat a casket in which according to his statement his sister is contained. When Kalamuka and Tritrusta come back home and open the basket, a thick fog arises from it as well as an iron chain which binds both and takes them in front of Adiserat. Kalamuka accepts the overlordship of the powerful king but does not get his sister despite this, who is married to Tritrusta.

Adiserat Nyakravati gets two sons: Dimahraja and Ruvatmaja. His younger brother Muntaradi becomes king over Dravatipura and gets the name Gutaka. He in turn has two sons: Sri Gutama and Resi Kala.

[SK 28] Episode of the sons of Tritrusta.

[SK 29] Citrabaha wants to marry Ni Indratna the daughter of Niti Kuvaca and sends a letter with the proposal to Bruvaspurva. But here one is less inclined to accept it since king's son Balikas (235) has disappeared with ten thousand demons, and the minister enlightens the king how his father Kuvaca Indra was murdered by Citrabaha. Just as the king had decided to teach Citrabaha a lesson the latter arrives. [SK 30] The minister Sakisar collects his army on orders of the disappointed Citrabaha and both the kings go to battle, leading their armies. A mighty battle ends with the victory of Citrabaha and as a result of this all demons accept his overlordship (236). Sakisar is left behind to bring the affairs in Bruvaspurva in order and Citrabaha returns to his kraton, palace, [SK 31] the proposed marriage now does take place, since the hurdle has been overcome and the subjugated kingdom is reserved for Balikas till his return. After this follows a second marriage of the same king. He tries for the hand of Sukesi, the daughter of Sumanli of Purvakanda (237). Actually this girl was meant to be a concubine of Guru (Siva) but after some negotiations he receives her hand and takes her into his palace. The marriage is, however, not bestowed with happiness because the young wife constantly fights with the other wife. As a result of this, she is married off to Begavan Sarva (238), although she is already pregnant. From his first wife Ni Indratni, Citrabaha gets a son who gets the name Dasamuka, after he had been taught by the same Begavan Sarva. The second wife gives birth to twins with demon heads, Ambakarna (239) and Sarpakanaka. Later she gives birth also to Vibisana (240).

One day when Dasamuka is again being naughty despite the warning of his elder half-brother Bisavarna, his father flings him away [SK 32] and he falls down on the island—Nalenka (241). Here he receives a visit from Purvaninjalma (242) from heaven, who promises him the lordship over the four worlds and the butas, demons, if he does not cause any suffering to the innocents and the ascetics. After that he gets a new name Rahvana aji (243). He constructs a beautiful kedaton (palace) and appoints Vagrasina as his minister. In the meantime, Bisavarna takes over the throne of Citrabaha. As soon as Rahvana hears about this, he decides to avenge his father. He concludes an alliance with Sakisar who has still not returned back to his country. (At this point Rahvana's sons are named: Sogasura (447) from a putri mina, fish princess, Gangavati, Pratalamahreni from

Kismavati from Kismakrenda, Pratalamaryam (448) from Devi Pratala (244). Very soon after that Rahvana (245) arrives in Indrapuri and Bisavarna tries to hide himself out of fear, but his enemy follows him wherever he goes. Finally he has to return to heaven and thereafter Rahvana takes possession of his palace Vilmanaramya, Bisavarna's son is turned by the trimphant Rahvana into an animal-mount. Sakisar is made regent of the city (246).

Even from the other side, however, plans for revenge are being hatched simultaneously. Balikas on return to Bruvaspurva learns that his father Niti Kuvaca had been killed by Citrabaha and he plots revenge. A secret messenger passes this information on to Sakisar in Indrapuri. Sakisar is innocent and has not given any reason for revenge. Sakisar now requests Rahvana to mediate so that unnecessary blood-shed is avoided. In actual fact Rahvana is able to prevent a quarrel with the help of envoys. After that all go to Nalěňka. Here in the usual way the mutual bonds of friendship are strengthened with the help of marriage alliances: Vagrasina marries Sarpakanaka, Ambakarna marries a daughter of Balikas. Vibisana marries Srimalahina and Caturjan, son of Citrabaha marries a daughter of Sakisar (247).

Rahvana decides to attack heaven. The gods are able to avert this calamity by giving him a spear and the aerial chariot Jaladara but even this favour of the gods does not, in anyway, [SK 33] influence his behaviour. Rahvana continues to consider himself invincible and believes that he can confront everyone and everything. When he once sees in the distance a bright light and learns that this is the glory of Adiserat Nyakravati, he immediately sends out two spies: Sińamuka and Mukasińa to his kingdom. On reaching there, they felt the power of San Pardana's stinking breath which, however, stops when San Pardana notices that they are demons. The king allows them to have a look at his complete kingdom and gives them all food and lodging. On their return, he gives them finally a bag of roasted rice, while he himself eats the contents of another bag. When the envoys come back to their master, it happens that the rice is nothing else but the jewels-precious stones, and Rahvana gets into a tremendous rage because of this. With a big army he waged a war against Adiserat and besieged his city. Again two envoys are sent this time with the order for Adiserat to subjugate himself. Adiserat, however, does not want any subjugation but peace and when he shows in different ways that he is extremely sekti, has supernatural powers, Rahvana then becomes inclined to conclude peace with him. But Adiserat foretells that his grandson would once overcome Rahvana with the help of an army of monkeys. San Pardana, the white monkey, would then incarnate himself in a certain Bergawa (248).

[SK 34] When Adiserat leaves his palace to carry out penance and Rahvana, who has started flying towards Bruvaskandi notices this, he takes on the form of Adiserat and tries to cohabit with his wife. This trick is, however, discovered and Rahvana is thrown out by Batlavijan, the commander-in-chief of Adiserat's demons and pushed away by Pardana's stinking breath. Both of them were, however, killed by Rahvana's spear but only after Pardana prophesied that he would revenge himself through a certain Hanoman. The wife of Adiserat now feels the danger and flees into the hermitage of her husband. The whole episode ends with the subjugation of Rahvana.

[SK 35] Dimahraja, the son of Adiserat Nyakravati becomes the king of Bruvaskandi with the name Adiserat Maharaja. The younger son Ruvatmaja cuts down the forest Mandrapura in order to establish a city there (249). After this has been done, only a bush of bamboos remains. The king enjoys the coolness of the night there. One night he sees a figure slipping into the bamboos. He lays a trap and thinks that it is a bird but next morning he sees that he has caught a bidadari, a heavenly nymph. She is the grand-daughter of Hyan Visnumurti and is called Palyadaru. Her father is Hyan Visnupati. Adiserat Maharaja marries her one day. When the king on another occasion hears cries in the bamboo and learns from Balyadaru that inside is yet another heavenly nymph called Retna Ayu Bandondari, the daughter of Hyan Rura, the grand-daughter of Basuki and the younger of Pancaraja. [SK 36] Bandondari as well is taken out of the bamboo and is married to Adiserat Maharaja. Visnupati who comes to bless his daughter's marriage gives the king the name Dasarata of Mandrapuri. Hyan Rura creates from a warinin, a fig-tree a minister, who gets the name Gurdamuka, and the kingdom increases in prosperity day by day.

[SK 37] Rahvana is a big seducer of women but only one thing is missing, the certainty that he has a long life. In order to get this he goes to Hyan Guru. Hyan Pramesti Guru is upset at Rahvana's increasing power and sends for Visnu, who alone is in a position to overcome the rake. Weapons for gods and human beings are made, thus everything is made ready for a long war. When Visnu comes he promises to help, if he can incarnate

himself as a human being as Rahvana himself is also an incarnation and that too of Batu Gunun (250). Visnu's wife Sri Měndan and Visnu's snake Basuki are supposed to be his companions thereby. In the mean time, Rahvana approaches gods with his request and sees Sri Měndan and immediately wants to have her as his wife. Visnu, of course, refuses but is overcome. He incarnates himself in Partavijaya of Pulo Rancan Kěncana. Sri Měndan also flees and incarnates herself in the kingdom of Nawu Lanit. Rahvana hurries after her and on the way meets a heavenly nymph, the daughter of the god Indra and his cupidity is aroused. Indra gives her to him because he is afraid that otherwise Rahvana would enter heaven but after some time he leaves her and returns to Nalěnka and orders Marica and Gumuka to fetch Sri Měndan from Nawu Lanit. After arrival there both the envoys see that in actual fact the king Lěsmantaka has a small daughter and they decide to wait till she is old enough but Lěsmantaka sends one of them with a letter to Rahvana.

Episode of Gajendra (252) who marries his aunt Devi Rontah.

Hyan Gutaka of Dravati Purva wants to appoint his son Gutama (253) as successor but Gutama is not inclined towards this. As a result of this Resi Kala becomes the successor on the condition that he would give back the kingdom to his brother as soon as he would ask for it again. Gutama then goes into the forest to carry out penance and reaches the palace of Gajendra and meets his wife Devi Rontah; sitting alone. After Gajendra comes back, he is killed by Gutama at his own request, after he has told him that his life is contained in the base of penis (251). Absolutely white blood comes out from the wound. Gutama now goes with Devi Rontah to his brother and takes over the rulership of Dravati Purva from the hands of Resi Kala.

Kala then makes a new settlement, not far from Dravati Purva, called Mantiladiraja.

Partavijaya (449) the king of Rancan Kencana is Visnu's incarnation. His son Arjunavijaya goes out in search of a certain Devi Setyavati (254), who is supposed to be princess of Nawu Lanit, about whom he has had a dream.

[SK 38] In a secluded palace, he wants to carry out penance but is disturbed by ten kings who want to use the palace as a pasangerahan, a place of rest. Then fight ensues, in which Arjunavijaya takes on a form with ten arms. Then kings surrender. Then he leaves

the ten kings to look after the palace called Maospati (255) and continues on his search for the princess of Navu Lanit the daughter of Lesmantaka. Lesmantaka had just then sent the envoy with the letter to Rahvana, who however flies into rage and immediately has the heads of one thousand resi's cut off in order to present them to Lesmantaka. Although Vibisana tries to advise him against this, yet the king carries out his plan and sends an army of demons under the leadership of Marica, who goes out to wage a war, but after many difficulties he has to come back.

[SK 39] Devi Setyavati dreams about a beautiful prince, Dasabahu of Maospati. Immediately after that an envoy comes from him and requests on behalf of Dasabahu for a meeting. Dasabahu, of course, is the same as Arjunavijaya. She agrees to marry him if he can find her out from a hundred statues. The king succeeds in this and the first union takes place even before the sayembara, the ceremony of selection of the husband. After this the ceremony takes place [SK 40] and it is possible for Dasaboja, so called because of his ten arms, to win the princess but only after he has fought a terrible battle during which he becomes Sasraboja (thousand-armed, 256). Sitting on the bird Sruvenda and accompanied by his bride he flees through the air to Maospati. [SK 41] On the way, however, the excrement of the bird falls on the audience hall (paseban) in Nalenka and Rahvana is extremely angry at this. He immediately sends out the demon Gutaka, who can also fly to look into the matter but he has to pay for it with his death. His body falls at Rahvana's feet. To increase the catastrophe Marica comes and reports that Arjunavijaya has moved to his palace Maospati with the princess, to whose hand Rahvana himself aspired. Rahvana's anger now knows no bounds and he flies through the air to Maospati, whereas his army follows on foot. There Arjunavijaya has just sunk into meditation, from which no one can wake him up. Both his wives have gone to the seaside to enjoy themselves. Immediately Rahvana recognises Setyavati and wants to abduct her but before that he has to overcome some strong watchmen. In utter desperation one of the women wakes up the meditating Arjunavijaya who now wins a fight lasting seven days and seven nights with Rahvana. He finally manages to catch the demon in his 'chain arrow', whereby Rahvana promises to improve his behaviour and begs for his life. He is in actual fact forgiven but hardly is he free that he takes back his promise. Once again he is caught with his chariot and everything with the help of the chain arrow, and again he is shown mercy. Everyone recognizes now that Sasrabahu is an incarnation of god but at a festive meal Rahvana cannot any longer hide his true nature at the sight of Setyavati. As a result of this he is swept away with his complete army by a gust of wind and thrown on to Nalčňka.

[SK 42] The episode of Yasadarma and Sasraboja, their fight and victory of the former, who now enters and occupies the city Maospati. Suddenly when it becomes day Setyavati kills herself, Srivati the second wife marries Yasadarma who becomes king over Maospati.

Resi Gutama has three children from his wife Devi Rontah: Devi Anjani, Subali and Sugriva. The last two are actually not his children but have been produced by San Hyan Surya (Sungod). While Devi Rontah was committing adultery with Surya, her daughter Anjani gets a magic box (cupu manik) from him, so that she does not betray him. From this box Devi Anjani takes out money in order to pay the debts of Subali and Sugriva. They are, however, full of ingratitude and want to possess the box themselves. A quarrel ensues which is brought before Gutama. The father decides that the box be thrown up and he who manages to catch it first would be its legal possessor. The brothers accompanied by a representative of their sister dive after the box in a lake. As they, however, come back to the surface without it, they have become white monkeys. Out of revenge, they wash. Anjani's face with the same water. As a result, she too gets the face of a monkey and she now discloses the whole story of her mother to her father. The mother is transformed into stone by Gutama's curse. All of them now carry out penance: Gutama on a smooth stone, Anjani in the sea on the tip of a needle, Subali in a tree, and Sumanda the representative for Anjani beneath it. Sugriva collects together the subjects of Daravati (Dravatipurva, 257).

Ki Buyut has adopted Watu Gunun as his son but soon regrets it and finally gets from the gods his own son with the demon-form called Getah Banjaran. When he grows up, he abducts Devi Taravati, the daughter of Batara Tantra.

The girl, however, is not very satisfied with him and desperately wants to be liberated from him. Therefore she asks him: "what is found in the sea" Gëtah Banjaran dives into the sea to find out and she uses this opportunity to flee away. Gëtah Banjaran then fights with Rahvana who is thrown off.

Nërada, the messenger of the gods, searches some one who is as grown up as Getah Banjaran and finally finds him in Subali who was still carrying out penance in his tree. Nërada baits him with a reward of possessing Devi Taravati and gives him the magic mantra,

Pancasona, which gives long life. As a result, Subali agrees to the suggestion and taking leave of his beloved ones goes to fulfil his task. Gutama sticks his staff in the earth and says: when this falls down, then Subali would also die. [SK 43] Reaching the sea Subali begins tremendous fight with Gëtah Banjaran [SK 44] whom he then finally defeats and kills with the help of magic mantras (258). Thus now he married Taravati and founded a këdaton (palace) near his tree of penance called Ragastina. Sumanda becomes his minister and is henceforth called Jëmbavan. Sugriva becomes the governor. On the orders of Gutama, Rësi Kala becomes the king of Dravatipurva whereby Gutama returns to heaven.

[SK 45] Rahvana sees, on one of his campaigns, Devi Taravati in her pleasure garden during the time of her pregnancy (259) and naturally falls in love with her. He wants to abduct her but Subali beats up this seducer of women and overcomes him. But everything ends in peace and friendship. In fact, Rahvana is accepted by Subali as his younger brother After Rahvana returns to Nalěnka he decides, still under the influence of Subali's magical power, to learn something of them from his near friend. After he has fulfilled this plan, big feasts are given hailing the perfection of Rahvana's character (260). Rahvana hears about the beauty of the mysterious wife of Dasarata called Bandondari. He flies through the air to Mandrapura and demands the woman for himself. Gurdamuka the minister opposes him but he is killed. Only as a result of a trick of Bandondari, who conjures up her exact likeness from her own peeled-off skin, Rahvana returns home happily. The real Bandondari receives after that the name of Devi Rago and she advised Dasarata to take away the virginity of her replica so that Rahvana should not get any suspicions (261).

Rahvana returns with his booty to Nalenka and keeps her under guard. He himself goes first to Devi Sri Mendan whom he still wishes to make his own.

[SK 46] In the meantime Dasarata comes and sleeps with Bandondari-klalar (replica produced of her peeled-off skin). After he comes back home, he sacrifices to the gods with the help of Begavan Candradeva hoping for a son who would later defeat Rahvana (262).

Visnu and his consort Sri want to incarnate themselves and Basuki also follows their example. They go to Mandrapura, where to their utter disgust they see Rahvana appearing before them suddenly, who announces that he wants to possess Sri. A big battle ensues and Visnu as well as Sri are forced to flee. Visnu manages to escape in that he incarnates himself as the son of Dasarata and Sri likewise as the daughter of Bibitsamuka.

Rahvana demands her for himself and gets her. Once again Sri escapes when Rahvana wants to sleep with his new wife from whom however Sri had escaped. He becomes unconscious and remains like that for seven days. After that he declares that the child, if it is a boy, would get the name Bibitbis. After that he chases Sri once again who has turned herself into an egg. Rahvana swallows the egg and returns home, where he sleeps with Bandondari-klalar. He says if the child who is to be born is a boy then he would later fight him and if she is a girl then once she will have to become his wife.

In Mandrapura Balyadaru gives birth to a son called Bergawa, the incarnation of Visnu. Rago also has a son Murdaka, the incarnation of Basuki. Further, Dasarata gets six children, the eldest of whom is called Branta and Tuvignya. After that Balyadaru gives birth to Berdona and Rago to Citradona (263).

[SK 47] The divine weapons of Visnu had been turned into animals during the last fight with Rahvana. Bergava and Murdaka give them their old form again by tearing out the tongues of the animals. Thus they take possession of the divine weapons. The first heroic deed of the two youths is that they kill Yasadarma of Maospati and raze his palace to the ground.

Rahvana's chief queen Devi Kendran bears him a son Indrajit and Bandondari-klalar a daughter, the incarnation of Sri (264). The mother, however, cannot get over the idea that the girl would later become the wife of Rahvana, and therefore puts it in a casket into the sea. Cibisana (Vibisana) creates from the clouds another child—a son Megananda. Rahvana is extremely angry when he sees that the child is a son who will later once fight with him and he throws him on a stone. The child, however, survives showing his extraordinary strength (265).

[SK 48] Resi Kala of Mantili finds the casket on the bank of waters and adopts the girl lying in it as his daughter and gives her the name Sinta (266). As the girl grows older, one day the foster father finds a bow which has fallen from the skies. Thereafter he declared that he who could span and string the bow would get his daughter as his wife (267). He would also have to pierce through nine palm trees standing in a row with one shot.

When Sinta comes of marriageable age, many kings come and try to achieve the task. Kala goes to invite the sons of Dasarata as well. Initially, he is given Branta and Tuvignya,

whom he puts to the test. In this they fail, because they choose from two paths the shorter and the less dangerous one. Then Bergava and Murdaka are sent with him (268).

[SK 49] On the way to Sinta's sayembara, Rahvana sees a female demon, Jangini. He fights with her but is the loser and goes further on his way. Still angry about the episode, Jangini sees the two youths coming, who are brought by Kala for his daughter sinta's marriage. She is killed by Bergava and once again takes on her form of a bidadari, and is henceforth called Janginivati (269).

At the sayembara, no one is able to shoot through the trees. Rahvana manages six and then disappears as usual in great rage. Then Bergava and Murdaka appear. After the latter has brought the dragon, on which the trees are standing in a straight line, Bergava shoots and wins the bride (271).

[SK 50] After the marriage Kala complains against a white crow who is constantly polluting his pond. Bergava shoots at him, the arrow follows the bird everywhere, even into a dyer's home. It becomes black there. (Thereafter all crows are black 279). But when the bird promises to improve itself, the arrow turns back. Bergava, Murdaka and Devi Sinta now return home. On the way Murdaka does penance in the hermitage of resi Candradeva (273).

[SK 51] Rahvana is affected by the rays of the sun and decides to fight it (274). After this, follows the episode R 59-61 and thereafter S 74-78 whereby Bergava and Sintaturn into monkeys. He who carries the semen into Anjani's mouth is called Maruta. Bergava places a ring of gold-wire in the leaf in which his semen is contained in order to be able to recognize the child which would be borne from it later (275). After this, change of their names takes place. Bergava now becomes Sri Rama and Murdaka is called Lesmana. Dasarata sends envoys to request them to return to Mandrapura but they decide to remain in the forest. Now after this, the episode of Sarpakenaka and her child takes place. The child is killed by an arrow and there is no mention of penance (276, R 62/63, 85). [SK 52] Sarpakenaka wants to avenge herself on Lesmana when she learns what has happened to the child. Afterwards she falls in love with him but is rejected. She flies with him into the air where he cuts off her nose (277). On returning home she does not show herself for a long time. When finally Rahvana comes to her, she narrates the story to him but in a different way. Thereafter Rahvana goes in the company of Marica and

Vilmukabahu to Sinta, in whom he immediately recognizes Sri. Now the episode about the golden deer, kidang kencana, is narrated, although here he is only an animal (278, R 96-98).

[SK 53] Gentayu, the vulture wants to fight Rahvana but he is thrown down by Rahvana's spear and falls down on the bank of a river. The two brothers looking for Sinta find Gentayu and learn what has happened (279). Then they reach the district of Ragastina.

Here Devi Anjani has given birth to a son with the body of a monkey and face of a human. He also has rings in his ears. Subali is surprised at his nephew and calls the child Anoman. After this follows the episode of Anoman and the Sun in R 79. There is no mention here of his great grand-father and further it is narrated that he could get back his tail which he had lost in an adventure, if he would bathe in the segara vedi, the sand sea. His tail had apparently fallen in it. Anoman is given to Subali and gets from him the aji pancasona and lives quietly, as long as his tail is still short.

[SK 54] On the mountain Sela Kunin is the kingdom of Jayasina which is independent of Nalenka. Mahesavati is the daughter of Suratani. She becomes the wife of the king here. From her two children are born: one of them Mahesa Purusa has the form of a buffalo. Mahesa Purusa, after he becomes older, kills all the buffaloes in the forest and adds their females to his herd. Once when a female calf is borne to him, he chases it everywhere and finally rapes it. The child of this forbidden connection is Mahesasura. He does penance in order to get powers to be able to avenge his mother and he succeeds finally in killing the old buffalo. His chief wife flees into a cave and gives birth there to a son called Jatasura. The cave was called Kiskenda. When this son, who is also a demon, becomes older he averges his father by defeating Mahesasura and forcing him to become his vehicle. After that he wants to marry Taravati, the daughter of Batara Sakra. His father agrees but only superficially. He requests Subali of Ragastina to kill the demon and offers him as a reward his daughter. Subali goes into the cave Kiskenda and kills both monsters. But Sugriva, who is led astray by the white and red blood coming out of the cave, closes it with a stone and gets the daughter of Sakra and becomes the king of Ragastina. In the mean time Subali manages to escape from the cave. He hurries in a rage to his capital and throws Sugriva far away, so that he falls down in a tree and is left hanging in the branches. Subali now takes his wife back who after some time becomes pregnant (280).

[SK 55] Rama, tired in the search for Sinta, rests under a tree with his head in Lesmana's lap. It is the same tree in which Sugriva is hanging and his tears fall on Rama's chest and wake him up. Sugriva narrates his story and reports further that Rahvana pays a tribute to Subali every year. Rama now concludes a pact with Sugriva. They go to Subali with the intention of killing him. On the way, they pass by the skeleton of Getah Banjaran. Rama demonstrates his sekti (supernatural powers) and shoots down twenty-five jackfruit (nanka) trees which had been planted by Sasraboja of Maospati. Thereby he proves that he is an incarnation of Visnu. The snake, Sindubanda, who is lying under the trees, pays its respects to Rama. Finally Rama destroyed the stone-pillar into which Devi Rontah had been changed. Now follows the episode of the fight between Sugriva and Subali (R 114-117). The mark of recognition here is a necklace of fresh coconut leaves. Subali is hit at the base of his tail.

[SK 56] Angada becomes king of Ragastina. Rama and Lesmana do penance on the mountain Suwela. Devi Tari gives birth to a monkey, whose body colour is shining green. He gets the name of Anila. She now marries Sugriva. After the well-known neglect of Sugriva in keeping up his promises to Rama, finally the army of monkeys is collected together.

[SK 57] Anoman, whom Rama recognizes as a son from his earrings, is supposed to go to Nalenka in half a day. As a reward it is said that he may eat together with Sri Rama from the same bowl. Rama promises this for a later occasion and advises him to try and cross the sea at the point called tasik wedi (sand sea). After he reaches tasik wedi, his skin disease disappears and he gets a beautiful tail. He relates this fact to Rama, and then they eat together. After Rama has made a cut in the leaf, then follows: sinigeg caritanira lajene katah kan unin/ carita Anoman duta tanapi lajennya tambak iki kan naca apan wus nrunu carita serat Rama nucapaken turunya Pendaya iku. After this the author suddenly goes over to the narration of the story of the Pendayas and the story of Rama is treated as fully well-known (281). But later, in the 70th canto, the story of Rama is resumed and the events after Rahvana's death are narrated.

[SK 70] Běțara Rama has overcome Rahvana who is lying partly covered up under a mountain (282) but is not yet dead. Rama the king of Pancavati has entered Nalěnka

[SK 70] and holds his court there. Then follows plundering, division of booty, etc. Rama cuts down the forest on the mountain Trengana Sekar in order to construct the city there. After that follows the fire-test of Devi Sinta which proves her purity without the gods having to intervene (283). Bandondari-klalar recognizes Devi Sinta as her daughter again. Rama goes to look out for Rahvana whose head is still lying at the foot of the mountain. Anoman covers up the giant even more so that he lies half dead. After this follow many orders and appointments by Rama. Dativikrama son of Cibisana becomes king of Nalenka; Sruveni, Sakisar's son, king of Indrapura; Balenkara, son of Balikas, king of Bruvasparva [SK 71] Rama settles down in his new palace and calls it Durjayapura. It is almost as if the golden era has returned till the episode with the portrait destroys the peace. Devi Gotakyu draws the picture of Rahvana on Devi Sinta's fan and puts it on her bed. Rama suspects her of infidelity and sends her to Mantilidirja (284). There she gives birth to Butlava, who was taught by resi Kala. The boy is a tough fighter and once he gets into a quarrel with some demons who are in the service of Cibisana. [SK 72] They go and complain to their master and to Lessmana, who is visiting him as a guest at that moment in order to inquire about Sinta. Both the kings go out to tame the wild boy but they are not able to master him. They are themselves bound by the boy and brought to Mantili (285). There resi Kala frees them and naturally everyone is astonished. Lesmana suggests to Sinta that they would take her back but she refuses. Thereafter Rama comes with a big retinue and goes to Sinta. [SK 73] Then the love-making of the couple is related in detail. [SK 74] Everyone returns to the capital and the next event is the marriage of Butlava with Endrakumala, the daughter of Indrajit and the grand-daughter of Devi Kendran from Mamban. The marriage is celebrated there.

[SK 75] Butlava now becomes the successor to Rama in Durjayapura, while his parents accompanied by Lesmana and Cibisana become ascetics on the mountain Cendana Sekar. Anoman settles on the mountain Kundalisada, in order to guard Rahvana (286).

[SK 76] Trijata, in the meantime, has fallen in love with Anoman and is experiencing pangs of love for her lover. Jëmbavan, who himself is in love with Trijata, assumes one evening the form of Anoman and spends a night with her. [SK 77] This trick, however, leads to all kinds of complications and the whole story ends with the marriage of Trijata and Jembavan (287). [SK 78] In the mean time Endrakumala gets pregnant and gives birth to a son Kuntiboja (288).

Rama now considers the time ripe for burning himself and requests Sinta through

[SK 78] a letter to come to him. She replies that she is willing to burn herself with Rama on the condition that in the following incarnation, she would not become his wife but his sister. Rama agrees to this and Lesmana goes to fetch her (289). [SK 79] On their way Devi Sinta and Lesmana meet king Janaka, the son-in-law of Resi Kala. Janaka had earlier already arranged with Sinta that in the following incarnation they would marry each other. [SK 80] Lesmana does not find himself able to give his consent to this sort of arrangement. It is only after Rama comes that peace returns again and all are satisfied with this plan. As a reward for his faithful services Lesmana is supposed to become in the next incarnation the elder brother of Rama so that Rama would have to do sembah to him. Further there are other orders and appointments among them that Kresna, the Chief Minister of Bruvaspurva, becomes the king of Dravatipurva, and is supposed to guard Rama's crown. Anoman remains on Kundalisada. The monkey Anala transforms himself now into a huge fire (291), into which Rama, Sinta, Lesmana, Tvibisana, Sugriva, Angada, Anila, Srabanila, Sraba, Bisamuka, and other monkeys throw themselves. Some lesser monkeys burn themselves as well. Sinta and Rama disappear and return to the abode of the gods where they once again become Visnu and Sri (290).

IV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDONESIAN DEVIATIONS

Rassers in his Panji narrations says: "If we could put ourselves to some extent in the way of thinking of the 'primitive' Javanese people, I think, we would find that the unbridge able gap which seems to exist for us, modern Europeans, between the Javanese and the ancient Indian version, in fact does not exist for the Javanese and that he considers the Javanese version as the totally logical development and continuation of the Indian version. In this way, it has not yet been expressed in its totality, and how strange it may sound but we would rather say that Rama Keling and the lakons (plays) of the wayang purva are somewhat totally different from the Indian Epics and are thus not to be compared, as they are connected with them only through superficial purely external characteristics but at the same time they are also exactly the same as Preuss has put it, though not according to 'objective' but rather 'according to magical characteristics' ... (292). Thus introduces the author his investigation about "the relationship between the lakons and the Malayan Sri Rama and the original form in which the subject matter came to Java". His , investigation led him to conclude that the major deviations in the Malayan story were purely Indonesian and that there was no reason to suppose that the Ramayana version or edition which served as the base for Hikayat Seri Rama, irrespective of the language in which it was presented, was supposed to have differed in major portions from the Sanskrit versions that we know" (293). The deviations were not supposed to have been caused by a slow continuous process (Kern, Hazeu), but represented sudden changes with all modern characteristics to be compared somewhat (294) with sudden natural events. Rassers is of the opinion as if the Indonesians had forced the original text into their own Indonesian way of thinking especially in that of the Panji narrations. He believes that he can explain much from this. Naturally accepting the deviations, caused as a result of the distortion or mutilation of the text itself, one has to emphasize that he presupposes an "original text" which was brought to the archipelago by the Hindus in ancient times which was not written in Sanskrit but which did not differ in most cases very much from Valmīki's epic (455).

This original text, which we may call the Rāmāyana, is then supposed to have been assimilated by the Indonesians into their and then in its new form, it was able to occupy a place in the hearts of the people as the shadow play (wayang) performances easily prove.

For me it is extremely important to see whether this view or opinion is correct or whether it does not perhaps rest on false premises. The results of my investigations even though not final about the Rāmāyaṇas present in India but still deviating very much from Vālmīki, led me to the assumption that the epic of this author, however famous he may

have been, was not the only one which was brought to Java, of course on the premise that the epic was brought there at all.

Juynboll has assumed that the more recent South Indian Tamil version was continued in Siamese, Malayan and Javanese Rāma legends and gives support to this assumption on the basis of the occurrence of certain names which according to him are of Tamil origin (295).

But Rassers considers this version, which even though not in Sanskrit, to be a version of the epic or an adaptation of the epic with unimportant differences. Hence he concludes that the major deviations have to be placed at the door of the Indonesians.

In order to be able to solve the problem of the origin, we should not be satisfied to consider the question only from the Indonesian angle. On the contrary, we should not feel shy to extend our voyages of discovery in which we hope to get factual material upto the deep jungles of Indian literature especially in order to be certain that we do not interchange Indonesian with Indian and vice versa. The absolute supremacy, which Valmiki's epic enjoyed, not only in the eyes of the Sanskritist, led to the fact that many people did not even think about this that in India itself differing, sometimes largely differing, versions of Rama legends were to be found. Even less could they consider the possibility that such stories could be better known than the epic. Our doubts will give us the key to extremely original facts but which in actual fact are realities. We face, however, just one difficulty. Apart from Dinesh Chandra Sen's book on Bengali Rāmāyaṇas there does not seem to exist a monograph which deals with the Rama legends in other languages of India. As a result of this the attempt to get material about differing Indian Ramayana's threatens to fail. I was forced to put together this material from all corners and ends, and this was far worse. I had to limit the field of my investigation to some extent, as a comprehensive investigation would only have been possible if I knew majority of Indian languages as well as if I had access to the manuscripts in which these stories were narrated, but still the material that I have been able to collect is sufficient in all ways in order to draw some conclusions from it, even though not every event, every name or every episode can be explained, or even that its genealogy be given. On the other hand, just this fact should act as a stimulus to further research in this direction.

First, let us consider as to what kind of deviations there are.

As has already been mentioned, we have to expect in the Serat Kandas an interpolation and interweaving of stories, which we find also in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Rāmāyaṇa. To this can be added a third type of stories which have their origin in Islam. But apart from the fact that the stories have undergone changes even to the extent of the

persons occuring in them. One can see a big change from the epic in the structure of the whole work.

In the Mahābhārata, as I have already mentioned, the story of Rāma is related by Mārkaṇḍeya, who narrates it to Yudhiṣṭhira as consolation for the abduction of Draupadī. Clearly this is possible as Sītā had also been abducted. The occurence of the Rāma legend at this place can be compared to the resi-legends in the Rāmāyaṇa, that is, without the narration becoming an organic part of the total epic. On the contrary, if one left it out, the actual story of the Pāṇḍavas would not be changed in the least.

The Serat Kandas (the Malayan hikayats can be considered as a large [S] or smaller [R] chapter from such a compendium) represent, on the other hand, Rāma's deeds and Rahvana's misdeeds in a close organic connection with the whole history of gods, demigods and kings which represents the prehistory of Javanese dynasties. The continuous struggle between the incarnation of Vatu Gunuń and that of Visnu is one of the 'leitmotifs' of the Serat Kandas. One of these incarnations was Rahvana and the other Sri Rama.

This method of presentation we find in the Indian Purāṇas. Here we also see that the incarnations of Viṣṇu are dealt with one after the other in organic contexts. Again we find here the prehistory of the dynasties in which the fate of the gods on earth has been brought in close connection with each other and even here this is the main theme. Wilson remarks: 'They (Purāṇas) reflect the theoretical cosmogony of the two big poems (Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa); they expand and systematize the chronology, they represent a more exact and a better worked out version of mythological legends and historical traditions' (296). This characteristic fits in well in its major components with the Sĕrat Kaṇdaş and the works connected with it.

The way, in which the different episodes have been interwoven with each other in Java, does not differ much from that of the Purāṇas, despite that this work gives the impression of being confused and full of contradictions.

Thus, for example, Adiserat Nyakravati (SK 23, R 2 Dasarata Cakravati) is Rama's grandfather, but in the Serat Kaṇḍa he is the son of Citragada. If we consult all the genealogies (dynastic lists of Dasaratha in the epic and in the Puranas, we do not find any mention of Citrangada, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of Citragada. But Citrangada is a very known person in the epic Mahābhārata as the brother of Vicitravīrya. As he belongs to the dynasty of the Paṇḍavas we can assume that he could not have been Rāma's great-grandfather.

The solution of this contradiction is very simple. Citrāngada's nephew, the second son of Vicitravīrya, is called Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Now the Javanese name for this personage is Destarata, and it need not surprise anybody, that the two names Dasarata (Adiserat) and

Destarata were confused with each other especially when we read S51 about King Dastarata which makes the similarity even closer.

In order to clear the way for such confusions, made purposely or not, I should like to mention that the mother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra was a princess of Kāśī and in Mahābhārata 1.105 was called Kausalyā, in other words by the same name as the wife of Daśaratha! Such confusions are of course to be found in Purānas also and the view that the differences of names in Sanskrit literature, which are caused by confusion and misunderstanding, occur very seldom does not need to be explained (297).

Another frequent cause of confusion is the custom to give the main heroes a youth name, nama alit, which later was exchanged for another. This is a specific Javanese custom which we do not find in the Malayan hikayats. Thus Rāvaṇa is called by his youth name Dasamuka 'Ten-face' which in Sanskrit is one of his subsidiary names. Later he received the name Ravana from a higher power. This form is not used continuously. On the contrary, the more popular name was again used, and Rāvaṇa is called Dasamuka. In this case there is no real difficulty, as this name is known everywhere but in other cases it becomes more difficult. We have already learnt the youth names of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; in Rama Kling they are called Sukmapapa and Sukmarara; in our Sĕrat Kaṇḍa: Bĕrgawa (298) and Murdaka, and in the SKM: Logava and Mĕrdaka.

In the SK Dasarata has a large number of children. Among them there is clear double. Branta conforms to the Sanskrit, according to the rules of taking over names from the Sanskrit, Brata, Bharata. But the same Bharata we find in the name of another son Berdona. In the same way Tuwignya and Citradona are different names for the same person. Berdona and Citradona conform to the Malayan names from the hikayats. Branta, however, shows an influence from somewhere else than the Serat Rama. There Bharata is called Brata and thus it is changed to Branta. Also by abbreviation names are changed remarkably. For instance, in the SK a ratu (prince) Gena is mentioned later in the same story. He is constantly referred to as Tugena.

Such misunderstandings may offer an interesting occupation and are certainly of use but I would like to warn not to come away too far from the main topic and now would like to completely deal with the questions as to how far in India itself important deviations are met with in the Rama legends.

The genealogies of our hero present, to begin with, many difficulties. Among ancestors of Rama (R 2, S51) come three (four) Dasarata's, so many, that we have to ask ourselves whether the genealogies were correctly made or not.

I should like to point to Wilson's statement with regard to the list of names in the Puranas in comparison to those in the epic: "There are irrevocable differences in many of the lists of names". He also mentions that the lists of Rama's ancestors in the Puranas differ from each other "very materially". In one of these lists the nama Dasaratha occurs twice (299).

Ravana's mother is called in the SK Niti Indratni, who has a co-wife Sukesi, the daughter of Sumanili. This Sukesi was married, as we saw, to Běgavan Sarva (SK 31). The persons have been mixed up in a curious way. Kesini (SK:Sukesi) in the Bhāgavata-purāna is the mother of Rāvaṇa, and marries there Viśravas (SK:Běgavan Sarva). Her father is called Sumāli (SK:Sumanili). Here a slight shift has taken place, as in SK Sukesi is not the mother of Ravana, instead it is her co-wife Niti Indratni. His father is also not Sarva which would correspond to Viśravas, but an otherwise totally unknown Citrabaha. Perhaps the mystery behind this name can be solved in the same way as in the case of Citragada (300).

The Rama Këling (codex 4085) is more faithful to the epic and narrates that Sarva was the father and Sukesi the mother, the same is to be found in the SK codex 4084 (461).

But in the Indian Rāma legends too, neither the name of Rāvaṇa's mother nor that of his father is always the same. In the Rāmāyaṇa his mother is called Kaikaṣī (7.9), in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa Keśinī, in the Rāmopākhyāna Puṣpotkaṭā, and in the Bengali Mahī Rāvaṇer Pālā Nikaṣā. In the Vāyu- and Bhāgavata-purāṇas Ilvilā is the second mother of Rāvaṇa. In the Lingapurāṇa, however, she is the wife of his grandfather Pulastya (301). The Jain Rāmāyaṇa of Hemacandra mentions the name of Rāvaṇa's father as Ratnasrava. This -srava reminds one of Javanese Sarva. Rāvaṇa's sister is called there Candranakhā (302), which is a very minor deviation from the epic in which she is Sūrpaṇakhā. Now another point in which Indian versions deviate very much from each other is in Rāvaṇa's relationship to gods. In the epic and in the older stories he is the scion of a dynasty, which had its origin from Prajāpati (Brahman) and he is the special protector and leader of the same. Thus Rāvaṇa's penances are all directed towards Brahman and He in turn gives him the boons he asks for in his penances (Rāmāyaṇa 7.10). In South India, Rāvaṇa's particular worship is not directed towards Brahman but towards Śiva and his genealogy is referred back not to Prajāpati but to Kaśyapa.

Baladaeus, Rogerius and Haasner, who had collected all their material from the South of the peninsula, speak of Ixora (Iśvara, Śiva) as the god who was worshipped most by Rāvaṇa. Baladaeus says "Ixora is worshipped by all men particularly by one called Ravan (whom Rogerius calls Ravana and who is supposed to be a son of the Brahmin woman (kassiopa), who spent three hundred assiduous years uninterruptedly and sacrificed daily a hundred flowers to Ixora because Ixora wanted to test Ravana's faithfulness. Ixora took

away secretly one of the flowers and asked why less than the number stipulated had been sacrificed. Ravan, who did not know about this trick, counted the flowers and as he found that they were no more than ninetynine, he became nervous and wanted to make up the full one hundred by tearing out one of his eyes from his head and adding that worshipped to the heap"...(303). Haafner also says that Rāvaṇa worships Chiven for more than a thousand years (304). Ziegenbalg mentions in one of the letters which he received from "a heathen" "... Ravana has been granted much power by Isvara because of his strict penances" etc (305).

It is interesting to note that neither in the Javanese nor in the Malayan Rāma legends is there any mention of a particular worship of Siva by Rāvaṇa. On the contrary, in the Sĕrat Kaṇḍa, it is actually Śiva (Guru) who had been brought into trouble by Rahvana in the beginning (SK 32/37), although Viṣṇu is the actual enemy of Rahvana. In the Indonesian stories the person who grants the boons to Rāvaṇa and thus appears in the place of Brahman or Śiva is to our great astonishment Adam or as he is called in the SK Purvaninjalma, the first human. It is clear that here a god from the Hinduistic pantheon had existed who however due to one reason or the other was brought into line with Islam. Nerada should correctly be given this place, as he acts all the time as a go-between the gods and human beings and further because as a result of the death of Vatu Gunun he was given charge of heaven by Guru (SK 8:46). Be that as it may, we do not find in the Indonesian stories anything about the worship of Śiva through Rāvaṇa and it would be correct to keep in mind this difference with the South Indian versions of the Rāma legend.

The episode of Rahvana's victory over Bisavarna (SK 32) is reflected in the fight between Rāvana and Vaiśravana (Vaiśravana: Javanese Bisavarna). In the SK, the capital of Bisavarna is, however, not the same as that of Vaiśravaṇa in the epic (Rāmāyaṇa 7.11). There it is Indrapuri, here Lankā. But if we take into consideration that we repeatedly see that the same kingdom or the same city or even the same person can have numerous names then we need not hesitate in accepting the fact that here also the same episode is narrated. At the same time, in the mention of Bisavarna's son called Vilmanaramya, who was changed to Ravana's vehicle, we find an indication of another episode from the epic, namely 7.13-16, where Rāvaṇa's campaign against Kailāsa is mentioned and also the capture of Vaiśravaṇa's chariot Puṣpaka is narrated. In actual fact, Vilmanaramya, also Vilmana, always appears in the same way as the chariot Puṣpaka in the epic, only with the difference that he is a personified Puṣpaka. Further, the matter is also etymologically in order, as Vilmana goes back to the Sanskrit word vimāna, which means a "flying chariot".

And the word ramya points to something joyful, which naturally does not sound contradictory, especially if we consider that the Javanese follow rules of the Javanese language for compounds words rather than those of Sanskrit. Vilmanaramya can thus be translated as a pleasant divine chariot. The identification with Puspaka is apparently correct. But in another place the Serat Kanda contradicts it. SK 32 end narrates the story of Rahvana's attack on heaven, in which he received the chariot. Jaladara and the limpung, spear, and this narration can naturally be put together with his campaign against Kailāsa.

We come across almost on every page puzzling parts of episodes put together into a whole and its episodes, the separation into parts and the construction of repetition, whose contents do not differ very much from each other but whose form differs to some extent. It is entirely analogous to custom and traditions to give new names at marriages which are compounded together from parts of other names. This custom is also met with nowadays. It is clear from where it comes and does not need detailed discussions here. It is based on the belief that the characteristics contained in a name get transferred. In the same way in other parts of the archipelago and perhaps also in Java people drink water in which iron has been "boiled" in order to get for themselves the strength which is a characteristic of iron. The reason for repetition and for putting together episodes in the stories which lead us time and again into confusion, I believe to find in an attempt to complete. the story and give it greater power. We must consider that these wayang performances were not only meant for entertainment but were above all magic and ritualistic events. This assumption cannot be dismissed easily, as it may appear at first sight. Such changes and distortions were not, of course, confined to the archipelago. But numerous repetitions which we find in the Indian Rāmāyana especially in the descriptions of the battle for Lanka contradicts this most vehemently but to see here deeper meaning than Jacobi, when he called it the "imagination of the poet".

To think of mutilation in the case of such changes is absurd, especially if one compares the Sĕrat Kaṇḍa excerpt with the seventh book of the epic where these stories are narrated to a large part. The changes are of such a nature that they could have been caused purely through oral traditions. The fact that Roorda Van Eysinga called the Malayan hikayat a translation of the Sanskrit epic, can only be taken as a proof that he either did not know his text or the epic. In retrospect, it seems the efforts that one has made in order to prove the opposite of his opinion is superfluous to some extent.

Yet another factor has contributed to the fact that the whole has a confused look: the influence of Islam. In the third canto, we learn that the names of Guru's (Śiva's) children are: Brama, Cakra Kusuma, Visnu, Basuki, Yamadipati, Ganakumara, and Sewah. In itself this family is remarkable enough, but we completely lose the ground from under our feet when we read that Guru is the child of Nur Rasa, the son of Nur Cahya, the son of Sis, the son of Nabi Adam. Luckily the interpolation can be clearly seen to be Mohammedan. It has been attempted to give the Hindu gods an Islamic genealogy, a sort of flag fluttering above the actual crate. After Noah's flood, whereby these Hindu gods are saved by the devil Mani Maya, the story continues almost completely with figures from the Hindu pantheon and the Islamic influence is restricted to certain figures not connected with each other, for instance, Nabi Adam in the case of Rahvana. But as far as the actual Rāma legend is concerned, the Islamic influence is without any importance.

Thus in the course of our researches we have to consider that repetitions, divisions, subtractions and additions of episodes belonging to each other or not belonging to each other, changes in the names, giving of new names and confusion of these names, all these factors have lent a large proportion to the general confusion. That such specific characteristics are to be expected in the case of a people with a primitive view can clearly or surely not astonish us. The people who handed down these genealogies were not logically thinking historians and for them it was often more important to narrate the victories of their heroes rather than stick to an exact narration of facts. The persons in the story could not be incorporated into the context of daily life but belonged to a supernatural and magically powerful sphere. With necessary changes, it holds true even in this case, as Kraemer points out to the mystic numerical speculations: "In these relationships, logical connections are not often easy to find. The concepts, words and images, with which one works, are based just partially on correct knowledge. Vague memories play equally a great role" (306). In this case similarity is taken for identification and related things and persons with related names are identified with each other without pangs of conscience.

One question, however, remains open. Can one speak of a Javanese or even Malayan origin of these confusions and changes in the subject matter or perhaps of an Indian origin though this may sound heretical(307). Let us now look at the subject matter a little closely. In that we restrict ourselves to the actual Rāma legend.

Rassers in his Panji novel repeatedly refers to the strange, but for the Panji stories typical, division in four and five whereby a king divides his kingdom into four or five parts and keeps one part for himself. In continuation of this division in four or five parts, he

said that while investigating he comes across typically Indonesian components in the Hikayat Sëri Rama ". . . through strict penance he (Rāvaṇa) received from the gods four kingdoms. Out of these he passed on three to his sons and kept one for himself, together they form the well known number of four" (308). He sees in the five children of Dasaratha also a similar division which has its root in Indonesian mythology. It appears to me to be a tall claim that such a division in four or five as the personal property of the Indonesians and what is even more important that Ravana's founding of four kingdoms whereby he kept one for himself, is in actual fact the result of a change of the original story through the Malayans because we read in the Markandeya-purana (translated by Pargiter) 117.21-24: "He (Khanitra) determined in his wisdom separate kingdoms for his four brothers and himself preferred to stay on earth, surrounded by the seas. He placed Sauri in the east, Mudavasu in the south, Sunaya in the west, and Maharatha in the north" (310). Many more such examples can easily be adduced. Further, Ravana's hegemony over heaven, earth and pātāla is also nothing new as it is stated in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Daśānana was "the sovereign of the three spheres" (309). In the further narrations of the story it is said that the wife of Dasarata is found in a bamboo bush, whereas in the Serat Kanda it is narrated that his second wife had such an origin (R 2, and SK 36). This difference from Valmiki's text is not of small importance. There Dasaratha's chief wife is a princess of royalty, Kausalya, the princess of Kosala. Considering the fact in the archipelago, the origin from the bamboo bush is nothing unusual. We could be inclined to see in this the influence of the Indonesians. In this context Juyboll says: "real Malayan or general Malay-Polynesian interpolations are, for instance, the birth of Mandudari from bambu bětung (311).

That this is an error and that it is not certainly a fact that this episode is an Indonesian interpolation, becomes clear when we consider that we often come across bamboo worship by the Kacaris, Gāros and Rājmahāls (312). Further in the story of Devadatta (313) it is said that a woman originated from a split of bamboo or from a bamboo tree (314). Further we have to consider that this theme of a king finding a woman in a bush is something which is often found in the stories of Hindustan (315).

In the hikayat and in the Serat Kanda, Dasarata has two wives but in the epic the number is three. That such a change should be Indonesian is doubtful, when we see that in the Satruñjaya-māhātmya a fourth wife is added to the classical number of three, namely Suprabhā as the mother of Satrughna (316). The opposite of the above assumption can be

found when we see that in south India only two wives are mentioned: Kausalyā and Kaikeil (317).

Now we must discuss the role which Balia Dari the second wife in the Malayan Hikayat Seri Rama plays. In the epic (2.9) we read that Dasaratha in his fight against the Asura Sambara was hit by arrows but was healed by his third wife Kaikeyi. As a reward for this he promises her the granting of two boons which she saves up in order to ask for Rama's banishment and Bharata's coronation later, but it is completely different in the hikayat.

There Balia Dari supports with her arm the palanquin of Dasarata which is falling apart. We read in an interpolation in the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa which mentions a palanquin falling down and a fight with the demons (translated by Wheeler): "... There when he (Dasaratha) began a terrible struggle with the demons, in the course of which an iron spoke broke in the wheel of his chariot, there you oh Kaikeyī with your hand at that place had hindered the falling down of the chariot" (318). Something similar can be seen with reference to the second deed which is reported of Balia Dari and about which there is no mention in the epic, namely, the sucking out of an abscess from which Dasarata was suffering (R 8). If we consult Baladaeus's Afgoderije der Oost-Indische Heydenen, there we find the following about Dasaratha: "As this old father of Rama once had a festering thumb and hence was very uneasy, he was healed by his wife. . . ." (319). The way in which he was healed is given by Dapper: ". . . she (his wife Keggy = Kaikeyī) took the thumb and began to suck it, till blood came out". Thus an episode, which is found in the archipelago, can be placed back to its Indian origin (320).

Further we read in the hikayats (R5, S68) about a crow which steals a part of the sacrificial rice, which was meant for the wives of Dasarata in order to get children. The crow was called Sura or Svara.

This name can help to clarify that there can be no reason for accepting an Indonesian interpolation here. This Sura is a short form of Asura, which is a demon. In Thurston's book we find a story in which a crow, who was actually an Asura, molested Sītā. We shall have a look at this scene later (321). But though the name of the animal becomes clear and what remains is to explain his participation in the sacrifice. We find in the folk legends of Gujarat, a story, in which an eagle steals a third of Dasaratha's sacrificial drink (322). This combination of a crow from one story and the stealing of the sacrificial food from another leads to an episode which we might have seen as an Indonesian interpolation.

If now we again go through the Hikayat Seri Rama, we find to our astonishment that Seri Rama was in his youth guilty of certain things which we would not expect from such a hero, shouting at the hunch-backed girl (R9). Rassers opines from this that Seri Rama in his youth was more or less an extremely naughty boy. It, however, appears to me that he emphasizes this mischievousness a little too much. In reality nothing more is said about his naughtiness except that he troubled the hunch-backed girl, and that as a result, a certain opposition was felt-against him in the mind of the menteri, ministers and tuan puteri, the princesses, to whom the girl had gone with her woes. On the contrary, it is expressly stated that Seri Rama was terlalu pahlavan dan gagah berani dan budi pekertinya terlalu baik dan seri rama kasih sayannya akan segala menteri dan segala hulubalan dan rayat sakalian, in other words: a great hero, courageous and his understanding and deeds were very good and Seri Rama had compassion and love towards all menteri, ministers, hulubalan, commanders and all his subjects. In fact this cannot be said in any way about a mischievous prince (323). Thus, his wrong behaviour can be restricted to the episode of the hunch-backed girl about which Valmiki is completely silent in his version. In the Codex Malcolmianus as well as in Kşemendra's Rāmāyana-kathā-sāra-manjari, we find something which, although reported in a different form, in actual fact has the same meaning (324). We read a report there that the reason for Manthara's hatred towards Rāma which expressed itself in intrigues during his celebrations as crown prince and in the fulfilment of Kaikeyi's wishes was his rough treatment of her. He had once given her a kick. From this the essence of the matter is clear and the alteration is not very significant since it is only in form.

A story from the Indonesian hikayats, which appears to be purely Indonesian, concerns the green frog and Mandu Daki. This frog perhaps represents, as I have already remarked, the animal in her soul (R 11).

The sentence in Crooke's book proves that the Indonesian version in this case is more illusion than reality: "The Hindus believe that the female frog is the soul of Mandodari, the spouse of Rāvaṇa" (325). But this queen of Rāvaṇa is in reality no other than the wife of Daśaratha, even though she originated from her as her replica. In this connection, I would like to quote a story from the Mahābhārata 3.192 which deals with Parīkṣit of Ayodhyā. He once heard singing in a grove (compare the bamboo and the crying in it, which was heard by Dasarata SK 35) and found there a beautiful woman, whom he took to his palace. While taking a bath in the pond, especially dug for her, she got drowned. When the water was emptied from the pond a frog was found left there which was identical with the woman found by the king. He thus got her again and she presented him with three sons. That such stories which came from another store of narrations but which were connected with legends of Rāma in the Indian folklore tradition have left their

imprint on our Indonesian versions, appears to be extremely possible. A proof of this is given by the story of pseudo-Mandu Dari, otherwise Mandu Daki, who was created from the peeled off skin of the real Mandu Dari. In Baldaeus's work we read: "One day Parameteri, the queen of Ixora, was washing herself in a tank and thereby rubbed herself with oil and cleaned herself with saffron. From the skin which came off and the sweat of her body, she created a figure which came to life as a human being" (326).

Further the birth of Sītā is a very important point. The Indian versions make it possible to see the connections more clearly. For scholars who were treating this material, which was incomprehensible, how was it possible to accept in fact that the daughter of Janaka, apparently found in a furrow, could be actually a daughter of Ravana, who in the further course of the story abducts her and makes all possible efforts to make her his wife. Rassers is of the opinion that Sita Devi in actual fact was a daughter of Dasarata, since he had caused the loss of the virginity of the pseudo-Mandu Dari before Ravana made her his wife. This would, of course, mean that incest is not that apparent but this would be only valid for the versions of R and S, whereby in the version which was edited by Maxwell, Sita Devi appears as the real daughter of Ravana, here called Duwana. Further putting of the child in a casket which was then thrown into the sea and its finding by Maharesi Kali remains obscure. Not a trace of such far-reaching deviations can be found in the epic, so that one must attribute the complete guilt for this to the famous imaginative streak of the Indonesians or to their capacity for absorption. A work written in Sanskrit, but not under the name of Valmiki, called Adbhuta-Ramayana absolves the Indonesians of all guilt in this matter. In the Kashmir version (327) it is narrated as follows: Nārada cursed Lakṣmī, Vișnu's spouse, as a result of which she became a demon. Once upon a time, as Rāvaņa sees his major enemies, the ṛṣis, the holymen carrying out their sacrifices, he gathers with the tip of his bow a little of their blood and puts it into a pot. This pot contained milk which had been put in it by one of the rsis because he had promised his wife to give her a daughter who would be an incarnation of Laksmi. Ravana stole the pot and after returning to his palace he told his queen not to drink out of it, as there was poison in the pot. But since he did not bother much about her and amused himself with other women, she took a decision to kill herself and drank the poison from her pot. It was actually not poison and therefore she became pregnant with a being, who was to be the incarnation of Laksmi (Sri). She then quickly went to Kurukşetra but gave birth prematurely to a girl and hid her in the earth where she was later ploughed out by king Janaka as is reported in the epic: it is Sītā (328). (In the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana the baby girl was lying in a silver vessel" 329).

In the Sinhalese folk legends, it is also narrated that Sîtā was born from the blood of ascetics (330) and in the Uttara-purana of the Jains it is said that she was the daughter of Ravana (331). Nearest to the Malayan and the Javanese versions is the story from western India, there are some variations and the names are different. A raja marries a girl who is destined to give birth to the Sun and the Moon. He was "seized with an eager desire to win her in marriage". She then gives birth to the Sun as a boy and the Moon as a girl. One of the co-wives replaces the girl by a piece of wood and throws the child in a casket into the sea. The casket flows "at the feet of a poor devotee of the sun". After some time the real father falls in love with the girl and tries for her hand in marriage, after which the narration (332) changes. Certain points from this story of birth of Sîtā are completely in accordance with the Indonesian version but particularly important is the statement about the worshipper of the Sun who during his worship stands in the water for Sun worship, Sūrya-pūjā (333). This is in accordance with, almost literally, what we read in R 15-17, 18. Of course, it need not be emphasized here that it is a well-known fact that a child is thrown into the sea or into a river, a theme well-known from stories of Classical antiquity and from the Mahabharata.

In this story the father tries for the hand of his own daughter, Ravana does the same. We have already seen that even in the dramas Rāvana appears for the svayanvara of Sītā. Baldaeus relates in detail about his arrogance and his boastfulness: "... I alone am powerful enough to string the bow, to bend it and to shoot with it". Further he narrates that "how the string slipped from his grasp and his thumb was cut into pieces, so that he fell down unconscious and he did this with such a terrible blow that the whole earth shook and he did not know where he should hide himself in shame" (334). Haafner also speaks of this episode (335). At the same time we are informed by these authors about the strange way in which the shot has to be made. Rama went to the place which had been marked out and where in the middle a very high and steep mast was put up and at its tip a fish (in Haafner's version, the fish is made of gold), below at the foot of the mast, there was a vessel filled with water in which the reflection of the fish could be seen (336). Surprising is the fact that Dapper narrates that the first one who shot was Janaka the father of Sītā.

It is clear that this variant offers a good parallel to the deviations regarding the svayamvara in the Indonesian stories. Here we also come across the influence of another episode from the Rama legend: Rama's shot through seven trees at the request of Sugriva

(R 113). There we find the influence of a story from the Mahābhārata namely the svayamvara of Draupadī (Mahābhārata 1.184-192).

Haafner also reports (R 29) about the ridicule of Seri Rama by his co-rivals (337). In Valmiki there is no mention of the co-rivals.

Regarding the fight of Seri Rama with the four anak raja, princes, we find a parallel in the story of his dynasty. After the svayamvara of Indumati, who was won as a bride by Aja of Ayodhyā, the dissatisfied princes came together and plotted to get her in their power. When Aja came with his bride, he found them in his way. To begin with he brought her to safety and started the fight. This is the description given by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa (338). The course of the story is almost exactly the same as in the Indonesian episode (R 35, 39, 40) and it is not impossible that this episode from the history of Rāma's ancestors flowed into the legends around Rāma himself (451).

Another major point which has for long caused a lot of headache was the birth of Hanumat in the epic (7.35, 36). It is narrated that Añjanā, the spouse of Kesarin, became pregnant by the Windgod Vāyu and then gave birth to Hanumat. How he became a monkey is, however, not reported. In the Indonesian versions Vāyu (Bayu) plays some role, but a very minor one: He drops the semen of Sĕri Rama in the mouth of Anjani and in this way Rama becomes the father of Hanuman. Even here it is not explained how he became a monkey but we learn about it from the story in which Sita Devi and Sĕri Rama were changed into monkeys (compare R 78-79 for the first and S 74-77 for the second).

I think that already in India this point was very obscure. Ziegenbalg gives another version of the story (340). He says that Vayu is Hanuman's father because one of his servants took away the cake which Kaikeyi received from Dasarata and that was handed over to Anjani. The fatherhood of Vayu is more certain here than in Valmiki's work but it is surprising that the whole story is brought in connection with the sacrifice of Dasaratha. In Gujarat a similar story is narrated with the sole difference that the cake is robbed not by a hawk but by an eagle (341). According to another story from Gujarat, Anjani was cursed by her father Gautama that she would once give birth to a fatherless child. (Here Anjani is already the daughter of Gautama, who corresponds to Gutama, mentioned in Malay hikayats). In order to avoid this curse Anjani burried herself upto her waist into the earth. Due to the power of Siva she, however, still gave birth in a supernatural way to a child Hanumat. This child was a monkey because during conception she saw Keşi (compare Kesarin from the epic) and Keşi was a monkey (342).

In Punjab there is yet another version. Mahadeo (Śiva) loses his semen which is caught by another god and dropped in the ears of Añjani. The result is the birth of Hanumat. The father here is not Vāyu, but Śiva as in the earlier story (343).

Baldaeus narrates a story which deviates from the previous one, but where the similarity to the Indonesian is greater. Again not Vāyu but Šiva is the father. He tells us to begin with about Ixora's and Paramesceri's excellent dancing. Then he continues: "But to come back to our old story, it must be mentioned that once upon a time Ixora agreed to dance in public in a play. While the guests came together from all sides in order to see the dance, Paramesceri turned her eyes to the forest where she saw two monkeys joined in love. As she liked the sight, she requested Ixora to accompany her into the forest in the form of a monkey. He agreed to her request and they both turned into monkeys. They ran and jumped around in the forest, till they came to a bamboo tree, on which Paramesceri became pregnant . . ." Then after this the Wind-god was sent to look for the actors. "Paramesceri, who had become pregnant, and who was ashamed to give birth to a monkey, requested the Windgod to take the child and give it to another woman. The Windgod obeyed her and put the child in the body of Anhema, the wife of a divine spirit. After that they both went quickly to the play . . ." After this the story of Hanumat and the Sun is narrated (344).

If earlier we had only parallels to the roles played by Anjani and Bayu in the hikayats, we have here at the same time a parallel to the role of Seri Rama and Sita Devi, as reported in S. But even more minor details from this strange but important episode are to be found in Indian stories. Ziegenbalg mentions the form of penance for which the "prophet" Gautama (Gutama?) was considered famous (345). This holy man stood on his head on the tip of a needle with his legs in the air, we immediately think of Anjani's penance. Anyone who has read this story in the hikayats, might easily have shrugged his shoulders at this example of Indonesian distortions of noble Indian penance! Teleconception, if we may so call it, occurs in the stories of Mahābhārata several times, so that we should not find anything strange in the narrative about Rāma's semen in R 78.

But despite this we still do not have any explanation that Rāma is the father of Hanumat and not Siva, as in the south Indian legends. I should like to suggest a possible reason for this extremely divergent version, naturally with all necessary reservations. In the epic Hanumat is the son of the Windgod. Despite all stories about Rāma's fatherhood in folklore, certain remnants of this are to be found and this may confirm the fact that

the monkey is always known, as also in the Serat Kanda, Bayusuta, son of the Windgod (346). And this can be read in the same story where he is supposed to owe his existence to Rāma! This points in my opinion to the fact, that either two stories, or better one story and names from another story, have been put together. The only solution could be if we could somehow identify both these fathers of Hanumat, Rāma and Vāyu with each other. Then he could correctly be called the son of Rāma and also have the name "son of the Windgod". In actual fact it is possible to make such an identification, if we go according to the name only and not according to the meaning of this person who carries this name.

A Parsi name for the Windgod is Rāma Hvāstra (347). It appears to me to be probable that this name got confused with Rāma Dāśarathi. This is strengthened by the fact that we know that Parsi teachers visited western India and that the language of Parsis in India was Gujarati. The pupils of Dastur Jamasp carried out their work in Surat and Broach. If this assumption has some truth, then we must reject the possibility that the south Indian versions gave rise to the Indonesian variants. To find an answer to this is extremely important for our purpose.

The episode of Sura Pandaki also requires some explanation although it is of much less importance. Haafner reports that she went to the bank of the river Ganges and gave birth to a child there (348). She appears in the form of a bird (349). In Vālmīki's work there is no mention of the birth of a child nor of a river. In the hikayats she does give birth to a child but not on the bank of a river but of the sea (R 61). The further course of the story also gives us certain clues. The letter of Seri Rama to Laksemana is also mentioned by Haafner (written on an ola leaf) (350). Baldaeus also speaks of this (351). In this letter is written "Ram writes secretly that he (Laksmana) must rob a part of her body because this would be the only means of breaking her power and of neutralizing the boon. She had the power to transform herself into any form that she liked." Haafner.

It seems evident that the doubling of the deer which played a role in the abduction of Sita by Ravana (R 94) is the imagination of the Indonesians. In fact it is not very difficult to trace the origin of such a simple deviation. Where it originated remains obscure but how it came about to the number of two, I think could be seen from the old Dutch reporters. Baldaeus says "Ravan took on the form of a deer with two heads" (352). Haafner confirms this when he says "He took recourse to a trick and having become wary through the fate of Kisyar and Dukri (Khara and Dūṣaṇa), he decided to attack him openly

but after he had converted himself into an extraordinarily beautiful two-headed decrivith golden horns that he went close to Rama's hut and started grazing where Sita could see him" (353). This two-headed deer naturally led later on to the doubling of the deer. I must, however, emphasize that in a certain sense, the hikayats are closer to the epic because they convert the servants of Ravana into kijang, deer, whereas in Haafner's report Rāvaṇa himself does this.

Lakṣmaṇa's magic circle, which he draws around Sītā, is only apparently Indonesian. The Telugu Dvipada-Rāmāyaṇa says that Lakṣmaṇa drew seven circles around Sītā and after that rendered her to the protection of Firegod. He, in turn, was more active than the Earth goddess in the hikayats. He conjured up a golden pseudo-Sītā, who was then abducted by Rāvaṇa in place of the real one (354). (In the Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa a pseudo-Sītā is mentioned, who perished during the fire ordeal and was substituted by the real one 355, while in the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana Rāma encloses her in his heart, 356).

The transformation of Ravana into a brahmana is more "Indonesian" in Haafner's book than in the hikayats. Rabon puts life into the fakir whom he finds lying on the way and goes in this form to Sita. After that he cries for help (357). After the two brothers have returned and do not find Sita Devi in R 101 there is mention of a heavenly boy who announces to Laksmana that he should renounce, for twelve years, sleeping, eating and all sensual pleasures. This is clearly an addition without much sense and in any case without a parallel in the epic. In one of the stories from Krttivās' Rāmāyaņa (Bengal) which was narrated by Dinesh Chandra Sen in his "Bengali Rāmāyaņas", we read: "The sage Agastya said that there is no hero in Lanka nor in the world who could be a proper opponent for Indrajit. Only one who would not sleep or eat, nor see a woman for fourteen years, would be in a position to kill him" (358). This condition was only fulfilled by Laksmana and it was also he who could kill Indrajit. This continence was completely missed by Rāma according to Sen, so that he asked Laksmana for proof, whether this had actually taken place, and later the proof was given to him in a supernatural manner. But Sen remarks before this "The next story is a purely Bengali version which does not come from the original and which exaggerates in a pathological manner the existing Bengali ideals of fasting, keeping awake and keeping away from women". We, however, would like to ask ourselves whether the idea of keeping awake, fasting, etc. is something specifically Bengali or whether it is not more correct to call it Indian in a general way. But if the whole episode is actually, to quote Sen, "a purely Bengali tale" then we could have an instance here of an influence from Bengal, but for the time being I very much doubt the justification for this view.

Now, some smaller or less important facts foliow: Sugriva is mentioned as being on a mound of sand from the eyes (R 111) or on a tree (SK 55), in both cases crying. His tears become the source of a stream which leads to his discovery, as Crooke reports (359). It is not unusual in north India to attribute such an origin to a river. Also the letting go of an arrow in order to search something is well known to us from the sagas of western of an arrow in order to search something is well known to us from the sagas of western India (360). It is odd that Haafner reports only about one fight between Sjukraadsi (Sugrīva) and Bael (Vālin) whereas Baldaeus does not mention any fight at all and Rāma pierces Vālin purely because of his boastful words (362). In this case again we see that the hikayat is closer to the epic.

As a parallel to the shining light which emanates at Subali's death (R 116), we find in the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana that after Rāma's deadly shot, Mārica's soul came out as a flame from his body (363).

The changes in the form of Hanumat, which in the epic are only depicted as a bigger or smaller body, have been greatly developed in the Indonesian versions in the type of animals to which he changed himself. I thought I could recognize a definite system but the changes are very far from being typically Indonesian. In north India Hanuman can change himself during his campaign to Lanka into a crow (364). Haafner talks about the form of an eagle (365). He even reports that Hanumat was granted by the gods, as a result of his sacrifices, a boon to be able to change his form.

Another fact about Hanumat is that during his jump to Lanka, he loses his semen which is swallowed by a fish and which in turn gave birth to a second Hanuman, who in the hikayat is called Hanuman Tugangah (R 131, 150). Exactly, the same is related in Punjab. His son is, however, called Machhandarnath (366). In a French treatise on Hinduism he is called Marcadazou and is identified with the king of the underworld, whereby in the hikayats (368), he is mentioned as the servant of the same king. We may recall the story of Ravana's payun, umbrellas, on top of the palace, the tip of which had to be shot off by Ram (R 143). Haafner and Baldaeus report that Rāma shot off Rabon's ten crowns from his ten heads while he was standing on the roof of his palace (367). After this Mandodarī advised Rāvana to give back Sītā. In the hikayats, it was Bibu Sanam who gave this advice. But the very fact that this advice was given after Rāvaṇa was shot at, proves that I am not far from the truth in my identification (369).

A totally new figure who cannot be explained away by wrong readings or otherwise is that of Bala Bisa (R 147). Even he can be followed back to a parallel whereby naturally the question is left open whether this is the proper source. In the Bengali Rāmāyaṇas this

figure appears under the name of Basmalocana, identified by Sen with the Celtic Balor whose one eye possessed the power to reduce his enemies to ashes (370). The following episode of Patala Mahi Rani and the abduction of Seri Rama, we find in the Bengali Rāma legends. Sen deals with this in detail and gives a translation of the Mahī Rāvaner Pālā which deals with this episode in detail (371). It also appears in Gujarat, where there is a mention of two persons, Ahi and Mahi, the nephews of Rāvana (372). In the Bengali version we, however, search in vain for Hanumat's son, who plays a definite role in the hikayats in this episode. But we know that in the Punjab, Hanuman's son is well known. Thus this point makes it somewhat improbable that the Bengali narrative was the source for the Malayan Rāma legend.

It is possible with a certain amount of effort to explain most of the deviations in the narration of the battle in Lanka from Indian variants, as this depiction is very much the same in all Rāma legends. The variants are, however, so unimportant that it is not worth the trouble of writing down all the results. In any case we meet them to a great extent in the Rāmopākhyāna and other Indian classical stories but I would still like to point to a few episodes. For instance R 164 where Mandu Daki is abducted and dragged in front of Ravana who is engaged in a sacrifice. In the Maṇḍodarī-keśa-grahaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa version A 82 again we find the whole episode (373).

The victory over Rāvaṇa can also not be completely neglected. In Vālmīki's epic (6.108), Rāma pierces the heart of the giant king with the shot of an arrow. In the hikayats, he shoots them down by shooting of a small head behind the right ear (440). According to Temple, in the Punjab Rāvaṇa is considered to be vulnerable in the neck (374). Bastian, who naturally does not mention his source says that he was shot in the navel where a part of nectar, amṛta, was found (375). In the Rāmopākhyāna he is reduced to ashes (376), together with his chariot and retinue by Rāma's arrow. Rogerius reports that he is killed by Latxman (Lakṣmaṇa) who shoots away with his arrow the head of a donkey, which is to be seen above his other heads (377). One can see clearly that there is a very large choice of possibilities even in India. In addition, we have the communication by Haafner that Kumbhakarṇa was cut into half, which we find in the hikayats reported for Rāvaṇa (378).

What is most remarkable is the fact that in Indonesian Rāma legends, it is narrated that Rāvana cannot die. To find a proper explanation for this is not easy. One could be suspected of thinking of Puşkara-Rāvaṇa from the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa, who lived on to fight further even after the death of Rāvaṇa (379). On the other hand, we note in many

stories an extraordinary death struggle of Rāvana. For instance, Baldaeus reports that the trunk of the body continued fighting even after the last head was shot off. Only after "some magic words" does the trunk turn to "marble". Baldaeus reports something similar for Kumbhakarna, although the role of the "magic words" (380) is taken over by an indigo-coloured cloth which is thrown over the trunk. In this connection, we have also to think of the story that he carried a pot with amrta, water of life, in his body behind the navel. Rāma caused his death by breaking this pot with an arrow so that the nectar was lost. We could perhaps also be reminded of some influence from the so-called Alexander legend, in which the water of life plays a big role. This idea is perhaps not that absurd, when we read there, that Alexander's negligent cook neglected to announce the finding of the water of life and he was then punished by the king to be under a stone in the sea, but where he could not die as he had drunk some water of life. According to a Hebrew version of the legend, his head is cut off first before the trunk is thrown into the sea (381). Both versions have a marked similarity to our Indonesian version.

The episode of Ravana's portrait is another point of comparison, whereby the name of Dasarata's daughter, Kikuwi, plays a certain role. In the Rāmāyana from Candravatī (East Bengal), it is mentioned that Dasaratha had a daughter from Kaikeyi, who had the name Kukuā. She is thus a sister of Rāma' and exactly the same portrait scene is narrated as we find in the hikayat. Sen in his work has taken over this complete scene whereby he compares her to the figure of Yago (382). In this connection it is important to note that this extension of the number of children of Dasaratha in hikayats has also a parallel in India where the number of four in the epic is augmented by a fifth child. As a result of this Rasser's theory that this addition is Indonesian, is proved wrong. In south India this figure of Kikuwi was perhaps not known because we read in Baldaeus: "He (Rāma) again became jealous because Sytha had drawn Ravan's silhouette on a canvas, as she was asked by some of her women, when she said that she had actually never seen Ravana face to face". She cleanses herself from this new suspicion "by putting her hand in a pot, full of snakes and remaining unharmed". Faria y Sousa also speaks of "Las Reynas". Haafner does not mention any figure called Kakua. (Baldaeus reports specifically that the people of Malabar know this episode and this would point to a western direction 383). In Ceylon as well, this scene is known (Palavaladane 384).

Tilavi, who is known in Ceylon as Sandalindu (385), also gets in South India a twin brother namely through the sage, who gives asylum to Sitā. Ziegenbalg relates that he was created out of a blade of grass (386). In Ceylon he originates from a flower (Māla Rāja) and further it is said that a third child was also later brought to life (Kṣiti Rāja 387). Finally we also find the battle of Rāma with his two sons in India (389). Sen also mentions the occurence of the same in the Bengali Rāmāyaṇas as well as in their stories under other names (388). But let us stop here, enough material has been collected.

Despite changes and deviations which arose out of new names and change of names etc. the reception of episodes, which deviate from Vālmīki's Rāmāyana but were otherwise known in India, has given to the Indonesian Rāma legend its typical character.

An investigation about the relationship of the Indonesian Rāma legend with the epic itself has now more possibility of success.

V RAMA LEGENDS AND THE EPIC

In the previous chapter, it has been sufficiently proved that Rasser's view is completely wrong when he opines that the Ramayana version which serves as the basis for hikayats was not very different from the Sanskrit versions known to us. The question as to how the Indonesian Rama legends link up with other Indonesian stories on the one hand and with the epic on the other now takes on another form. If one claims that the question arose purely through the misunderstanding and the mutilation of the classical text, then I consider this to be a total misinterpretation of facts. At least, if this treatment is supposed to have been carried out by the Indonesians. Even with the very limited material at my disposal, several changes were already present in Indian stories and were effected not in the Indonesian; of course this does not justify, on the other hand, the supposition that we can explain away every thing in this way. We must therefore be clear that these stories -if they are not hidden away any longer due to great respect for Valmiki -- can throw some light on the Indonesian parallels. It seems that the anonymous themes of the stories showed the same modesty as the author of the Mahanataka, our Hanumat. Later on he left his work totally unknown for hundreds of years: after he had completed the Mahanataka and engraved it on rocks. Valmiki came and found that the work of the wise monkey was much more beautiful than his own. Then Hanumat, according to legend, requested him to throw the stones into the sea.

We should actually ask ourselves the question about the relationship between these Indonesian variants and the epic. D.C. Sen says: "It is certainly wrong to presume that the Bengali Rāmāyanas are only the translations of Vālmiki's great epic. On the other hand, we have in these local stories about Rāma unmistakable proof that traditions and ballads existed which went back to an earlier period than Vālmiki's epic" (390). The author thus sees himself confronted with the same problem as I and his answer to this is that the legends which he found in "the local stories about Rāma" are older than the epic. The question, however, becomes more difficult for us to answer as the versions we have of the Indonesian Rāma legends are of more recent origin, especially in regard to the antiquity of the epic. Among the oldest manuscripts available to us is the version S, and this is certainly not to be dated earlier than the 16th century (452). In addition to this, the material that I have collected from the folk legends is very young. On the other hand,

of course, one should not forget that the contents of the folk legends very often go back to very old times. The only way which is left to us is to take out the kernel of the stories from the changes which it has experienced, try to determine to which cultural period the central figures of the stories could have belonged to. Only then can we understand whether these legends represent something factually different from the epic or whether they are only modifications of the same. When we have once taken out the kernel of the story from the whole and have reconstructed the main theme, then we can perhaps try to gauge in which relationship the different stories stand to each other. The criterion for determining this would have then to be such which one has used for determining the antiquity of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmayana. The fact that the five heroes of the first epic had together just one wife, led to the supposition that the kernel of the epic originated at a time in which such polyandric possibilities were still known, if not actually permitted. This form of marriage does not appear in the Rāmāyana. This was one of the grounds that the second work was considered to be younger at least in its kernel. However, this kind of conclusion which was made then, is not completely without doubt and in the case of such an investigation we have to approach the matter in an extremely careful manner.

Such a criterion is good for our purposes after we have lain bare the main theme. Rank says: "Modern research has shown that fairy tales, if one wants to understand them properly, cannot be taken in isolation but in totality. It is specially important to be aware of a story which is narrated according to local and natural conditions and which the scholars of fairytale research regard as an important and as a loose mantle thrown over the actual motif" (391). Hence we have to discover those places where we find the different motifs one after the other, and this in the case of our material is not all that difficult.

All the Rama legends contain as main motif the banishment of the hero by the father, which in most cases was instigated by the step-mother. Then, the heroic deeds during the period of banishment and return after the death of the father. This motif can easily be brought into connection with what has been termed by Rank as "the myth of the birth of the hero". He says: "This myth considers the persecution of the son through the father, to whom an oracle (dream) has prophesied, that his unborn son will cause him unhappiness or even kill him. The son, however, is born, despite all safety measures taken by the father and is left out to die either on the orders of the father or without his knowledge. Finally, however, he is rescued and destroys either the father or his tyrannical representative to put himself in his place. This pattern is to be found in most of the heroes

of different peoples" (392).

Daśaratha-jātaka (393) deals with this motif in its least contaminated form. Rāma is banished by his father Daśaratha, the king of Benares. This is instigated by one of the sixteen thousand queens of the king. As to the duration of the banishment, it is said to be as long as the father is alive. After the death of his father, he returns again and becomes king.

This motif occurs in an even more complete form in other Rama stories. Together with the "banishment" which is a later form of "putting out to die", we also have the "problem" of trying to encompass the death of the banished hero but that always ends in its opposite. There are the valerous deeds of the hero. As a doubling of this, we have the fact that Rama is taken by Viśvamitra before he is banished. Thus the hero carries out glorious deeds, both before and after his banishment. The killings of the demons like Tataka, is completely analogous to the Greek legends of Perseus, Theseus etc. These beings, be they dragons, giants or demons, are looked upon as "father substitutes" by Rank. In these stories, we also have the prophecy which warns the father about his son. Daśaratha is warned by a Brahmin, whose son he unfortunately kills, about an approa ching misfortune which is connected with his unborn son (Rāmāyaṇa 2.64, R7). That this misfortune is taken to be different from what one would expect according to the motif, should not surprise us, when we consider that as to how motif changes can take place. Apparently this motif is the only one from the Rama legend since winning of the bride is considered as the "task" in the first "banishment" and wining of Sītā as the task in the second banishment. Rank says, that "this malevolent act of the father is repeated many times" (394).

Before we go on to the search for a second motif, I will just point to the fact that in myths not only the father but also the father-in-law shows enmity towards the hero, which in the case of our stories has been made milder through a substitute, through the four anak raja, princes. But at the same time this appears clearly in the number of "tasks" which Maharesi Kali assigns to Rama (the statues, the crow 395).

It would be too far-fetched to go into the details of the motif in its change and in its use in the Rāma legends; let us leave that to better persons. If we put together Rank's characteristics of the "myth of the birth of the hero" alongwith our stories then we can, in actual fact, follow step by step the similarity, on the condition that one takes into consideration substitution, doubling and suffering.

It is remarkable that in the Rāma legends which are not derived from the epic but are either in conformity with the Indonesian legends or belong to them, a second motif appears through the first that, however, is totally missing in the epic. I mean the motif of

the father who sends away his daughter after her birth in order to prevent incest, but wants to marry her after she has grown up. Ravana has his daughter removed from his home as according to a prophecy she is to bring him danger, but later attends her svayamvara at Maharesi Kali.

The legend of the girl who gives birth to the Sun and the Moon, gives us the second motif in its purest form, just as Daśaratha-jātaka is the first motif. Then in this story she is actually married by her father. This motif appears to me to be a variant of what Rank says "This motif (the first) gets a direct sexual meaning, where not the son, but apparently the daughter is in the centre of the story. She is often shut up or imprisoned in an impregnable tower at the time of her puberty in order to protect her virginity (compare Devi Sita in Lanka Puri imprisoned by her father Ravana in a palace, surrounded by iron fence) but the "hero" manages to reach her even there, is the annoyance of the father who now persecutes the "son-in-low" in the same way as the son. In many traditional books, we find clearly the actual reason for this shutting up of the girl, in other words that the daughter who has reached the age of puberty is to be protected from sexual persecution by her own father (396)". It is found in all Indonesian stories that the father Ravana wants to marry her, but it is only in the legend from the west of India that he actually marries her.

It is not my intention to bring out further motifs from Rama legends which certainly are to be found there. I, however, think that I can find a criterion in it that enables me to determine the degree to which the legends are changed according to the cultural values of a people. A society which finds itself in a period of higher cultural sophistication will be more inclined to remove from their narrations, the socially antiquated ideas and taboos and if this cannot be done, if the motif has to be kept, then by softening it or by retouching it. An easy example of this is to resort to substitutes. Let us see whether and how far this is the case in our stories.

In the epic and in the Rāma legends closely connected with it, Sītā is ploughed out from the earth and then accepted as the daughter of Janaka. In most of these narratives Rāvaṇa appears for the first time at the time of the abduction. In the drama, however, he is already present at the svayamvara.

In the hikayats, Serat Kandas, Rama Kling, and lakons etc. she is apparently a

daughter of Ravana, and yet she is put out by him in a casket and brought up as a daughter by Maharesi Kali. Ravana wants her hand in marriage, even abducts her later, but no marriage occurs. In the Malayan version given by Maxwell, she is the real daughter of Ravana and it is narrated that for this reason, he could not marry her (397).

Finally in the legend from west India, the girl actually later becomes the bride of her father.

If we now take the degree of blood-relationship between Sītā and Rāvaṇa as a yardstick, we come to the following possibilities:

- a. Sîtā is the daughter of Ravana. M.
- b. Sītā is only apparently the daughter of Rāvaṇa, R, S, SK, RK, AR.
- c. Sītā is not the daughter of Rāvaņa. Vālmīki, Rāmāyaņa Kakavin.

The question now arises: which of the three stories is the oldest and the most original. The answer for this is not very far from finding. Despite the great antiquity of the Rāmā-yaṇa version, which goes under the name of Vālmīki, I do not hesitate to give an even greater antiquity to Rāma legends from the folk legends, even if the versions which we have of them now are comparatively recent. The systematic rubbing out of the incest between Rāvaṇa and Sītā in all possible ways, is a clear-cut proof in this direction but not only is the history of Sītā a victim of these adjustments to a cultural period of history. In the story of Jatasura (R 105, SK 54), we find the same thing where the incest is connected with totemistic reminiscences. The Indonesian stories narrate this in great detail, but Vālmīki only mentions this in a few words (Rām. 4.11).

It does not need more proof as to how important the changes and the modifications of the old Rāma legend are, which gave a Rāma legend as we find it in the beautiful epic of Vālmīki which led to its reputation. In fact one can make the reproach which is made against the Indonesians that they have changed the epic according to their own views against Valmīki himself. If we ourselves were not convinced that the material which Valmīki adapted had already undergone these changes and had already been assimilated by the cultural milieu in which Vālmīki was living. Even before Vālmīki, Dasaratha's fear of his son must have been changed in a fear to lose his son. His act of despair which purposes to kill the son through banishment is passed on to the step-mother Kaikeyī.

Sītā's obscure origin thus became a puzzle which led many mythologists to a wrong track.

If this is all true, then we have no reason to accord Valmīki's epic and its adaptations to which also the Old Javanese Ramayana belongs, such a high value in contrast with the folk traditions as has been done only too happily till now.

The influence of the epic was without any doubt extremely great and brought about very high development of culture. The influence would have confined itself to those who either read it themselves, or heard it being recited, and to judge from the large variety of different narrations, this could not have been possible in the case of the people at large. It could have only been restricted to the higher cultivated people, who managed to get the benefit of listening to the epic but this benefit was actually the lack of mistakes which was still present in the people from earlier times (443).

Before I end this part of the evidence collected, I should like to point out some facts which I cannot deal with in detail but which still deserve to be considered in their full ramifications.

To begin with, besides the incest between father and daughter in our stories, the incest between brothers and sisters also plays a certain role. In the Dasaratha-jātaka Sītā is the daughter of Dasaratha and after return from banishment married her brother Rama and lived for sixteen hundred years happily with him. In this context also the Indonesian versions are closer to this jataka and I would not hesitate to assign it greater antiquity than the Rāmāyana (442). Indeed there Sītā is actually Rāma's sister as Dasaratha took away the virginity of the pseudo-queen Mandu Daki before she became Ravana's wife. The question that immediately comes up is whether the whole legend has not been put together from two stories, which went parallel to two motifs which we have already come to know? It is perhaps the same story as has been narrated in the Dasaratha-jataka and in which Rāvaṇa is not mentioned at all? And could not the other story have been in which Rāvaṇa and his daughter were the main characters to which some lover was added, who was later identified with Rama from the first story? Unfortunately we have no proof for the existence of the second. The first one is present in the jataka. Sen is also of the same opinion, even though he reaches his conclusions on the basis of different premises (398). He postulates a third cycle of stories, the Hanumat cycle, which has also been connected to these two; and this supposition I also agree to. Our Indonesian versions clearly let us know, how strongly the Indonesians feel that the story of Lagur Katagina is as independent as that of Ispaha Boga, or as it is later called, Mandura Pura. Together with this and yet separate, they also talk of the story of Indera Puri and of Biruhasya Purva. The first two relate the stories of the monkeys and of Rama, but from the latter two there are only traces left and even these are not to be found in the epic Now it is very clear that we have to divide up the Indonesian Rāma legend in two groups, this time comprising the Kakavin and the Sĕrat Rama. This dimension I have already mentioned earlier due to practical reasons. Both these groups have nothing to do with each other as far as Indonesian versions are concerned. Their relationship dates from a much older period.

It now, thus, becomes clear why Rassers saw in both groups something different and at the same time something similar. But we would be doing him a disservice if we took over his theory and forced our facts on to it. He is doubtless correct when he observes in the legends reminiscences of totemistic customs of the times. Only we must perhaps substitute the term "Indonesian" with a more general "primitive". And in this lies the real worth of his theory.

Still we have not taken out all from our Indian facts that can be taken out. Even if I could not find from them a single legend which would be parallel in all details to the Indonesian stories, it would still be worth the trouble to investigate from which parts of India, we get most of the facts conforming to our stories. Thus it should be possible to determine a definite area, from which the legends originated with the strongest possibility. Of course, certainty may not be possible but if we look at the differences as well as the parallels, we can perhaps come to a temporary conclusion with some justification. As I have already mentioned above, Juynboll felt that the origin of the stories was to be found in India, that the source of Rama Këling was the "Tamil Rāmayana" (399). As a proof he mentioned certain names in these legends like: Bibu Sanam (438), Sura Pandaki etc. Unfortunately he does not give any further explanation about what he means by "Tamil Rāmāyana". The Tamil Rāmāyana which has become known and which is the only one which has become known and which is the only one which has been published is that by Kamban. If this is the one meant, then we have to reject his assumption, as this writer followed "almost completely the great Valmiki" (400) according to Balasubrahmanyam. By comparing even a few parts of the translation at our disposal, we can see the truth of this assertion (401). Thus this version belongs to group C together with the Kakavin and the epic. Even his opinion about the names is not quite free from criticism. It does not appear to me to be necessary that Sura Pandaki should have originated from Tamil. In Tamil the name is Surpanagei. The introduction of the d is the most remarkable change, and in the Tamil version we do not find it. Sanskrit s can become in Tamil s and does not have to give rise to the s of Sura Pandaki. The ending in i we find already in the Bhagavata-purana where the name is written as Śūrpanakhi. In any case, the few names which are apparently of Tamil origin are put into the background by the large majority of such names which show no influence of Tamil (402). The hardening of voiced consonants and softening of voiceless consonants, which is typical of this language, we find nowhere (435). Thus it seems to me to be premature to postulate a Tamil source on the basis of just a few names (403).

If we consider the area from whence we get most material, then this would be the western and northwestern parts of India. Of course, I also had at my disposal a part of the material from Gujarat, Punjab and western India and also the reports of Dutch travellers, which they collected from the Malabar region and Benyan (Gujarat). I was also able to consult the reports from Bengal. In these latter reports similar episodes are missing which are to be found in the stories from the western part.

In the stories from the south and south-west everything also of course did not fit. For instance, Baldaeus and Haafner do not mention the figures of Bala Pisa and the Patala Mahi Rani. The Portuguese reports, which seem to have been put together in the south, show may variations from the hikayats. But in general the South Indian version is much closer to Valmiki's than these latter (434) Portuguese versions. As against this, we have a narration in western India, which although not actually a Rāma legend, has a remarkable conformity in more than one way with the hikayats, and especially in such matters which is typical for the hikayats. This story still carried the character of belonging to a living mythology; also for other minor characteristics from the Malayan versions, I found again and again parallels in stories from this region (458). The motif of the girl who is thrown into the sea in a casket, is found by a worshipper of the Sun, is brought up as his daughter and later to be wooed by her father, shows such a strong similarity with the second motif of the Indonesian Rama legend that I, if nothing else speaks against it, am inclined to consider this region as the origin of the story and thence it came to Indonesia (457). If my supposition regarding the confusion of the fatherhood of Vayu with that of Rama is acceptable, then even this would speak for an origin from western India. This should not surprise us by the way, because the old trade routes through which Islam also came to Indonesia, in actual fact, led from Gujarat along the west and southwest coast (405). Javanese tradition mentions that Java was colonized from Gujarat; this of course does not prove anything but in connection with what has been said above, it would appear to be less improbale than has hitherto been accepted. It would not be the first time that a legend was based partly at least on truth (436).

In this connection I must also point to something else. In S 4 there is a mention of the four empires which were independent of Ravana. One of these was Biruhasya Purva. I think that this could be identified with Bhirukachha Pura, Bhrgukachha, the city of

Bhīrukachha known to us from the Vāyu- and Matsya-purāṇa (404). This city is nowadays known as Broach and is situated in the southeast of Gujarat at the mouth of the river Narmada. Indera Puri is also the name of a city with no specific character that one dare not make any suppositions. I would still like to draw attention to the fact that the name Indore (from Indrapura) is to be found in close proximity to Broach.

Unfortunately the names from R 39, 40 are badly mutilated and it is hard to draw any conclusions from them. At the most one could see in Mahrat Mahārāṣṭra the land of the Mahraṭṭas, north of the Western Ghats, also near the same region.

Of course, this region need not in any way have the monopoly of influence as the very character of trade would prove the opposite and would allow influences from other regions as well. A closer investigation, which however cannot be done here, would reveal that between the Malayan and the Javanese legends certain differences which can only be partly assigned to an influence of the Kakavin and its versions but which perhaps go back for influence from some other region. Business dealings are like a funnel, from which all, which is poured into it, comes out again fully mixed.

My conclusions regarding the origin of the Indonesian Rāma legends and their relationship to the epic could be as follows:

That it cannot be said that the Indonesian Rama legends have arisen from a definite version such as the original from which typical Indonesian elements arose either through mutilations or confusion, change or addition,

That most probably a very mixed kind of influence has to be postulated which was based mainly on oral traditions, which in turn conform in the main to our Indonesian version (406),

That the epic represents a younger cultural stage than the hikayats which are closer to the original motif,

That the motifs in the hikayats are of greater general importance having been kept more pure than the epic of Valmiki, which is more especially Indian.

Before I leave the topic of the Rama legends to go over to the treatment of the Rama reliefs, it would be of interest to get a picture of the form of the legends and of their style. Of course I shall have to restrict myself to a couple of typical examples and give a translation of pieces from them. Of course, I shall not be able to consider the contents and I shall have to choose a piece which is approximately the same in all versions of the legends. For this purpose I have chosen the passage which immediately precedes the abduction of Sītā.

Since I am restricting myself to the archipelago, it would be best to translate the episode from the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin and from the Hikayat Seri Rama. In this way I would have taken an example from each of the two groups. The episode begins after Rāvaṇa has ordered Mārīca (in the Hikayat two servants) to change himself (themselves) into a (two) deer.

RĀMĀYAŅA KAKAVIN 5(408)

39c Thus spoke Marica. Finally he went along into the forest (409) and having reached there took the form of a golden deer (410).

40His back had the colour of emeralds and it shone with a beautiful light, the hair of his body were shining as if of red gold. Having reached the hermitage he went up tamely to the daughter of king Janaka, who was filled with happiness and pleasure at the sight of the animal.

41 Again and again she admired the beauty of his fur which covered him like a blanket and which shone like gold with fine, small and smooth hair (412). Her heart desired to possess the beautiful one so strongly that she ordered the capture of the bejewelled animal.

42Raghu's son does not for a moment question. In order to capture it, he leaves behind his younger brother to watch the patapan (413), hermitage, but it was not possible for Rama to catch the animal because it ran off quickly and always managed to move away from Rama's grasp.

43It was as if he had pleasure in teasing.
by shading still for a minute nearby and
then when [Rāma] tried to catch him
to run away quickly with his smooth

HIKAYAT SÉRI RAMA

95Mahaloka and Prajangi Sura bowed their heads to the feet of Maharaja Ravana. Thereafter they went towards the hut of Seri Rama. After they had reached the hut of Seri Rama, they changed themselves into a golden deer and a silver deer and started jumping around playfully in front of Seri Rama.

When Seri Rama's spouse Sita Devi saw the two deer playing around, she said to Seri Rama: "Lord, please catch these two deer for me, so that I can play with them". Seri Rama said: "The deer can not be caught alive, but wait, I will kill them both".

96Sita Devi said: "I do not want that they be killed because I want to have them alive".

After Sĕri Rama heard these words of his wife, he quickly took up his bow and left his hut (425). After that Sĕri Rama called Laksĕmana and said: "Laksĕmana, my younger brother, please stay back and look after our elder sister Sita Devi. I shall follow the two deer". After Sĕri Rama had spoken this he went on his way.

skin, shining (414) as if anointed with oil.

The hand (of Rāma) failed, so that it 44slipped away and ran further. Thus it came about that Rāma followed him to a great distance (415) without being able to catch him. It would stop for a while to agonise and harass. [Rāma] became very angry, because he could not catch him at all, and took out his bow and shot an arrow at the deer.

45It was as if his ribs were cut and through this blood spurted out. His (animal's) internal organs came out and as his life's breath became weak, he called out in a misleading way. Janaka's daughter got startled when she clearly heard Rāma crying. It was as if the voice of noble

46Rāma, who was crying for help. Therefore king Janaka's daughter screamed: "Go my younger brother Laksmana, help our elder brother; hurry up! He is calling you to help him. You apparently do not have any love for your elder brother. Hurry up, protect him".

47Thus spoke king Janaka's daughter, crying. In her love she felt in her heart all kinds of fearful things. The young prince (416) Laksmana answered calmly, as he had confidence in the sakti (supernatural powers) of his elder brother that he could not be killed in a fight"

When the deer saw that Seri Rama was following them, they ran away, but Seri Rama followed them further.

When Seri Rama was quite far from his hut, Maharaja Ravana, who was hiding in the forest, cried out several times in the voice of Seri Rama, "help! help!"

Sita Devi heard this and said to Laksemana: "younger brother Laksemana, it is the voice of your elder brother, who is crying for help". Laksemana said: "Lady, I do not listen to noises in the forest". But after that also, the cry came again: "help!" as if in the voice of Seri Rama. Sita Devi said: "younger brother, that is clearly the voice of your elder brother calling for help" Laķsemana said: "Lady, you should not keep on listening to these voices, because my lord, your elder brother, is he not the foremost among creatures of the highest God, and who has recently killed Gagak Nasir (426). It is not my elder brother, who is calling for help".

Sita Devi said: "Laksemana, I still think,

48"You are the spouse of the hero from Raghu-family, you are loved by my elder brother. Besides Prince Janakarāja (417) is your father: you are still behaving in such an unworthy manner, if you hear some one crying. Is he then the one who is crying? Who knows, whether it is not some one else only?

49Who is then sakti in the world, tell me, that he could withstand prince Rāghava in the battlefield? Only he has sakti and is the master of all weapons. How can you think, that he would be killed, driven by a deer?

50Who from the offsprings of the distinguished Raghu was it then, about whom you had heard earlier that he, even as his end came near, feared to die (418), and also called for help? The whole Raghu-family, no one, whom I know about had escaped. They succumbed to death without any fear fighting angrly with their overwhelming foes.

at being killed. Its conduct was certainly surprising: it looked without fear. The bow of Raghu's son reached its goal, since it was the intention (of the animal) to die (420). It was him, who rushed into the fire caused by Rāma's fire-bow. 52Who is then not full of astonishment at the sight of Raghu's son! He conquers

it will be better if my younger brother would go to help my elder brother, perhaps he is really in some danger".

Then Laksemana said: "Lady, I was given the order to look after you, so how can I be so neglectful to run away? Of something were to happen to you, then I would have done a great wrong to my elder brother".

After that they once again heard the voice crying for help. Sita Devi said: "younger brother Laksemana, do you want the death of your elder brother? I think, it would be better, if you go to look for your elder brother. Perhaps he is in danger and is calling you for help".

Laksemana however said: "My elder brother need not fear anything, neither a human being nor a wild animal in the forest. As soon as I leave you, it is possible I shall regret it". his foes in the world without any comparison. Therefore, don't be distressed, because some one cries (453). Your lucky husband Raghava shall come back with the deer as his prey.

53It was not he, who called, but a bad spirit, and probably he wanted to mislead through this cry. It was the cry of the deer. It was he, who succumbed, the is the way I think and this (cry) was only similar to the voice of the lion of Raghus".

54After the young prince Laksmana had spoken these words, Janaka's daughter did not want to trust them and resisted. Love and fear grew up in her heart so much that she answered that his words were only lies and improper:

55"Younger brother, you, the son of Sumitra, what do you mean by that? This is the first time that you are unwilling to do what I command you. Earlier you were so devoted and loyal to your elder brother. But now you are weak and you are behaving substandard that you are not providing him help.

ing up in your mind, because you are so envious and indecent. You are malicious towards the benevolent Raghu. Your heart aims at indecency. It is extremely deplorable, even of low grade, that some one from Raghu's dynasty can afford to think of deceiving his elder brother (422).

Sita Devi said: 'Now I quite understand the trick of my younger brother Laksemana. If Seri Rama were to die, you would certainly make his wife your own'.

O, how vulgar it is!

57These are your reflections of Raghu-oftspring: let him now be killed by the animal (421), then it will be all very happy. Then it would be my turn to have power over King Janaka's daughter. Who is her shelter? No one is besides me. These are your thoughts.

580 beguile Lakşmana with low thoughts! You believe that I could have such mean thoughts, in order to conduct improperly by breaking the marriage oath. In my thoughts, there is but no one else besides him, and only Raghu's son I serve.

59If God would be so merciless, that the honoured should be killed, that Raghu's son should succumb in the fight, driven by a deer, then I'll behead myself and throw myself into the fire. So I'll follow the beloved and will not take refuge with you".

60So spoke king Janaka's daughter, insulting, but in her confusion maliciously. She meant that the preposterous in her heart would not be unjust. In anger, she presumed the worst.

61Dasaratha's son, Laksmana was angry and apprehensive, because the words which he perceived from her, were to a great extent strange. Her behaviour did As Laksemana heard these words of Sita Devi, he burst into tears and said: "Lady! how can you speak to me like this?" and totally depressed at these words of Sita

not seem proper to him (423), so that he was depressed and answered immediately:

62"I am very suspicious, bad and cunning towards my elder brother. My heart is but pure and loyal, without any wickedness. All Gods may be eyewitnesses of my disposition, they may behold! The hell may be my place, I may experience sorrows, because I am deceitful.

63Daughter of Janaka, you are doing wrong by speaking so. You are dazzled by the belief that I ever longed for you. Through your words, which were improper, great sorrows would encroach you. The foe will empower you, if I were to leave you now. So it be!"

64In this way, he spoke a curse, which 'soon turned into reality (424). (Then) he set out to follow his elder brother and was gone away, king Janaka's daughter remained standing. Finally she went to pluck the flowers in the patapan, hermitage.

Devi, Laksemana could not say anything. Laksemana wept: "I am because my elder brother has left you in my custody. But now our agreement is no longer valid due to the decree of the gods (433).

Thereafter Laksemana went outside and went round the hut of Sita Devi. While doing so he drew a line with his finger on help him in hunting the deer. After he 97 the ground, saying: "O earth, I leave Sita Devi in your hands, whoever tries to cross this line, you must hold his feet fast". As Laksemana had spoken thus, he went on his way, with tears streaming out of his eyes. He was constantly thinking about the order given to him by his brother.

The difference in style between the Kakavin and Hikayat Seri Rama is pronounced. Of course, we have to take into consideration that the Kakavin is written in verses and the other narratives in prose. That could have had some influence on the choice of words but the strange use of constant repetitions is not affected by this. And it is this particularity which gives the style of the hikayat its particular emphasis. The style becomes something schematic; the language gets a particular scheme and the story as well. Phrases like "Sita Devi said" and "Laksemana said", are like punctuations marks, points of diversion, between the actual contents, again presented in a schematic form, are added (427). The literal repetition upto three times of the "playful jumping around" of the deer (the first time just before our example began) shows up the schematic nature in the foreground. The description of heroes and their battles, not present in our examples, in the hikayats is generally almost word for word the same. The only variations to be found are when the hero in quest possesses certain qualities which play a specific role in the battle. The description of festivals, feasts, processions are all like stencils whereby in most cases, the colour can perhaps be different but the form remains the same. The battle which is described is a sort of exemplary battle, which has been laid down once and is again and again used for its magical and other potentialities. Everywhere one finds only one, to some extent, peculiar event repeated: "dengan segala bunyi-bunyinya terlalu azamat bunyinya":so full of music, sounding extremely loud. The similies for the battles between two heroes are always the same and the noise is likened to that of a volcano throwing out fire or of furious storms. The heroes are all marked by the same characteristic and are either virtuous or non-virtuous, solely by belonging to a particular side. Even the short passage that I have given above, we see in its style something of our own mediaeval prose narrations and such a style has the greatest similarity to the hikayats.

Just as our Renaissance is different from the mediaeval period, perhaps in the same way we can differentiate between the Kakavin and the hikayat. This, of course, refers mainly to the contents, as I have already mentioned above. The style of the hikayat must have been the style of the native population even before the Hindu-Javanese period or at least it did not differ very much from it. The style of the Kakavin, however, came to an end; after this period came to an end and in New Javanese poetry it declined to mere verbosity or artificial use of words. In actual fact the style of the Kakavin is not very much different from that of the epic, as the contents also are very similar. Even if the similies are not as clear and original as their Indian counterparts yet they avoid being merely stencils as in the hikayats. They are often fine and worked out in great detail, whereas their counterparts in the hikayats never reach such a degree or immediacy. Exactly this greater freedom and this flexibility in style points to the Kakavin as a work coming out of a cultural background which was similar to that of the epic. Only the name epic is a bit confusing, which was applied to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa in an unhappy hour, probably more

due to its length than due to its contents. The Sanskrit word Adikavya, the first poem, is

A tendency towards variation, towards paraphrasing, towards-greater detail of the similies, towards dramatisation of the narrative, all these differentiate the Kakavin in a great manner from the simple hikayats. At the same time one can deduce on the basis of stylistic reasons, that the Kakavin belongs to a culturally higher class, and therefore the hikayat cannot probably or possibly be a decadent version of the same. Such a retrograde step is something which exists only in fiction.

Inspite of the fact we must consider the question of the origin of the Kakavin, even if we are not very hopeful about the results to be expected.

I have already stated, that as in the case of the Mahābhārata books and their Old Javanese adaptations, it would be possible to assume that the author of the Kakavin took a particular version of the Rāmāyaṇa as his model. Even if nothing has remained from this and yet it must have actually taken place thus, especially if we consider such a translation has come down to us from the Uttara-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (428). This translation, however, does not answer our question and serve our purpose, and the contents of the Uttara-kāṇḍa have not been taken up in the Kakavin. Apart from certain deviations which are different than in the hikayats, the Kakavin follows the main events from the regular version of Vālmīki's epic pretty closely, but in an abbreviated form. The division into 26 cantos cannot be taken as a criterion for considering its Indian prototype, because the Kakavin was most certainly an adaptation of an Old Javanese and not of a Sanskrit poem. Prof. Kern had given clear proof that the poet did not have command over Sanskrit (429). Thus it is not impossible that he took more liberty with the text than he would have had if he had used the Sanskrit original.

As I have already mentioned in passing, it is very probable that the Kakavin originated at the same time as the Bhāratayuddha, in other words at the time of the Kadiri dynasty. The Bhāratayuddha treats approximately in the same way the events, which we can find in the Mahābhārata, even though variants are also to be seen. It is thus proper to assume that the original of our Kakavin came from the same region of India as the original of the Bhāratayuddha, the Old Javanese Mahābhārata books. Hazeu has proved that this version could have been the one which formed the base of the Bhārata-mañjarī (430), a work of Kṣemendra. In particular, this Kashmiri version led him to this conclusion, even though it was not possible to come to a definite result. In any case, just as Kṣemendra, wrote an epitome from the Mahābhārata, he did the same for the Rāmāyaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa-kathā-

săra-mañjarî. We thus miss an Old Javanese adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa, which could have made possible a study, as Hazeu has written with so much success for the Mahābhārata. Bühler had shown earlier, that Kṣemendra had not differed from the epic, whereas Jacobi and Wirtz felt that he was following in particular the western version A (431). In any case he clearly follows a version from north India. Whether we can deduce much from these facts, is doubtful. In the western version is the well-known episode, for example, the Maṇḍodarī-keśa-grahaṇa, in which Maṇḍodarī is dragged by the hair in front of Rāvaṇa while he was offering sacrifice. In the Kakavin there is absolutely no mention of this scene.

Even otherwise, several other episodes are missing. For instance there is no mention anywhere of the intrigue of Manthara and even less about the reasons for her hatred, something which Ksemendra mentions deliberately.

A superficial comparison of the Kakavin with Kşemendra's work or with versions A and B of the epic gives us several contradictory views. But here I would like to repeat that the Kakavin is extremely abbreviated, and as a result of this it is difficult to decide whether the version which formed its base had anything to do with the northern version. On the contrary, the problematic points are not important and often can be traced to a misunderstanding of the text, as Kern has already shown for one episode (432).

We would be safest to assume the following: the Kakavin keeps close to the epic and probably goes back to an Old Javanese adaptation of the same which however cannot be determined with any certainty; it is not possible to say more with certainty.

VI. RĀMA IN PLASTIC ARTS

"The story of Rama or Siri Rama is so famous and so precious in all the countries of the East that kings and great men carry depictions of it on their robes, weapons and on the walls of their palaces and state-rooms very often with great artistry" (462). This sentence has been taken from the work of Baldaeus: Afgoderye der Oost Indische Heydenan. Unfortunately, he leaves it open as to how the story of Rāma was depicted on the walls and on other objects. But in any case it is important to note that it was depicted in art. Of course it was something to be expected since we saw how popular the legend of Rāma was with all people, both great and small. The numerous pictures of the legend of Christ in the churches, monasteries and palaces, which are found in the mediaeval period in Europe, can offer us to some extent a good picture of how the Rāma legend spread throughout India, both in literature and art. This was not only the case at the time when Rāma was literally considered "The Redeemer". To have faith in him meant for the bhakta (believer) irrespective of his high or low rank, that he will be blessed, which was earlier reserved only for some ordained ones, even in olden times.

One thousand years before the Dutch priest Baldaeus told us about the depiction of the Rāma legend in various ways, Bhavabhūti wrote his Uttara-rāma-carita and therein he gave a remarkable description of murals on which the story was to be seen.

It was probably not important for him to give a regular description of the pictures which, of course, we would have welcomed most, but in his Uttara-rāma-carita which dealt with the events after the fall of Lanka, he wanted to refresh the memory of the listener and to sketch in a few lines the preceding events.

He has been completely successful in his description in a remarkable and lovable manner. Normally it was the practice to have a demigod or an aereal spirit refreshing such events. Bhavabhūti deviates from this practice and presents before our eyes the main characters of Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana, who are looking at the series of murals which depict the desired stories in a pictorial form (463).

Laksmana turns to his elder brother and says: "Lord! look at your story as it is depicted by an artist according to our dictates on this wall" (464). In the description of the paintings which now follows we have a smooth bird's-eye view of the main events, and in our imagination pictures are conjured up, for instance how the young hero Rama receives the magic weapons from the sage Viśvāmitra with which he is supposed to kill the demoness Tātakā (465) or how he broke the bow of Śiva in the capital of king Janaka.

or how his father Dasaratha comes to Mithilā after the marriage of his son, accompanied by his high priest Vasistha, or how the whole company meets on the return Bhārgava who was terrible to look at ... but Bhavabhūti lets Rāma pass over this unpleasant memory and makes him continue with the description of the following scene: the return to Ayodhyā, makes him continue with the description to Bhārgava makes one more mistake, in Laksmana who had given particular attention to Bhārgava makes one more mistake, in that he points to the hunchbacked figure of Mantharā who later became the cause of so that he points to the hunchbacked figure of Mantharā who later became the cause of so much misery. Again Rama interrupts him and passes over to the story of his banishment to take delight in the simplicity with which they brought their daily life in the forest to an end. Once again it is Laksmana, who brings up something unpleasant by pointing to Sūrpaṇakhā, who was the immediate cause for the abduction of Sītā. Even this portion is passed over quickly. When they come to the meeting with Sugriva, Rāma is so much moved by the memories which these pictures evoke in him. He suggests to end the sight-seeing of the murals, but Laksmana, who follows the wishes of his brother, most unwillingly remarks on certain portions of the battle scenes. Thereafter even he turns away from the murals and the conversation takes on a different turn.

Despite our great wish to learn something more about the techniques used in painting, the colours and other things, Bhavabhuti remains silent about them. But the highest value of this description is that we can readily assume that such mural depictions of the Rāma legend were popular enough at the time of the author, i.e. in the seventh century, in order to be used so naturally in a play.

It is well known that mural paintings had been used much earlier. Citrasala or citragrha (466) "painted room" is the name we come across several times. The cave temples of Ramgarh Hill in Orissa (second century B.C.), those of Ajanta (first to seventh centuries A.D.), those of Bagh (probably seventh century) and those in Ceylon (fifth and following centuries) can show us how such paintings looked like in the different epochs (467).

Unfortunately, all paintings apart from those in the caves mentioned above have been lost, so that we are dependent on the few references in literature alone for the paintings in palaces and in other buildings. Such palaces were mostly made of wood and the fate of these wooden constructions in countries with such a damp climate as India is well known: they decay very fast. But even paintings in the temples and monasteries have not been spared because as soon as the structure of the walls became less stable and as a result the stones moved slightly from their original position, the paintings on the plaster cracked and

sooner or later disappeared in the debris of the walls. If we consider that even the reliefs which were carved into stone, hardly ever remained intact, then we can easily imagine and not be surprised that we do not find any traces of paintings any more. On the contrary, we can easily assume that they were more numerous than one normally guesses. In fact, in my opinion, I would go as far as to say that all temples and monasteries had wall-paintings, if they did not have painted reliefs for wall-decoration.

But let us now return to our depictions of Rama.

Citralakṣaṇa, which had been translated into the Tibetan language and whose original Sanskrit version is lost, is a treatise on the illustrations of certain types of figures, and it is in the 123rd part of the Tanjur. In its extant version, as translated by Laufer, we find: "The characteristics of the proportions of the rulers have already been taught. The four kings may be depicted according to one's own discretion. These are Balin, Bhāskara, Rāma the son of Daśaratha and the son of Agnidhārā, who are to be depicted according to their respective sizes as known to the experts of dimensions (468)". Here one is talking about two Rāmas, namely the son of Daśaratha, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa and the son of Agnidhārā. The name of the latter has probably been wrongly restored into Sanskrit by Laufer and could more likely be Tīkṣṇāgni. I believe that this is just another name for Jamadagni, the father of Paraśurāma, who also plays a role in the Rāmāyaṇa (469). It does not become evident at first right as to who Bhāskara could be, but if we read the passage of the text dealing with Bhāskara: Bhāskarī, which does not make any difference in the Tibetan version, then we clearly see who is meant by it, since Sugrīva carries this name in Bālarāmāyaṇa. In actual fact he is the son of Bhāskara, the Sungod (470).

Who could be the fourth person will become clear to us later. Unfortunately we are still in the dark about the age of the Citralakṣaṇa. The dating of the text is a somewhat precarious question, as I immediately get involved in a controversy between those who consider Indian art to be a direct descendant of Hellenistic-Persian art and those who wish to consider it much more indigenous. Laufer claims that the Citralakṣaṇa should be preBuddhist. I can, however, not follow him in this view. My identification of the Tibetan Me-rnoi-bu with Paraśurama would, if it is correct, contradict his thesis, likewise the identification of Snan-byed with Sugrīva. If we now take the fourth person, king Bali, who plays an important role in Viṣṇu's Vāman-āvatāra, then we have here together two avatāras of Viṣṇu and two persons from their stories. Thus we are already in an epoch in which the teaching of the Viṣṇu avatāras must have already begun and this period

cannot be dated earlier than the first century A.D. Therefore without any certain proof for or against, we have to be very careful in this matter (733).

Kern cites a quotation from Varāhamihira's Brhat-samhitā, an astrological handbook from the sixth century: "Rāma, the son of Dasaratha, and Bali the son of Virocana, are

120 digits (high)" (471).

Even here the subject-matter is the measurement of cult-pictures. It is interesting to note that the author begins his list of names with our heroes. This mention of Virocana is particularly welcome as we can imagine now as to who is meant by Bali in the Citralakṣaṇa, namely the daitya-king, who once managed to get control over the three worlds, but which was then snatched from him by Visnu in his dwarf incarnation (Vamanāvatāra) and who was then made ruler of the underworld (pātāla) by God.

The Agni-purāṇa, a true encylopaedia of Hinduism, also gives instructions about the production of Rama pictures, especially in the 49th chapter (matsyadi-pratima-laksana

. 472).

Here our hero has been mentioned as the seventh avatara of Vișņu, whose task was to liberate the gods and humans from Ravana. Together with him his two namesakes are also mentioned: Parasurama, who has already been mentioned above and Balarama, the brother of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The three heroes have been described as follows: "Rāma should have a bow and an arrow in one hand, and in the other hand a sword and even an axc. Rāma is mentioned as having a bow, arrow, sword and conch or also as two-armed: Rāma is also the bearer of the club and the plough or four-armed: the plough is carried in the left hand above, in the left hand below there is the radiant conch, in the right hand above the club and in the right hand below the radiant sun wheel".

The axe and plough characterise the first and the last, namely Parasurama and Balarāma. Rāma, the son of Dasaratha alone has the attributes of kṣatriyas and his divine appearance is symbolised through Vișnu's conch; in his two-armed form, the sword and the conch are eliminated.

In this description which can be approximately dated back to the fifth century, Rama is presented exclusively as an avatara of Visnu to his companions, the other avataras, but in later descriptions a distinction is made between individual statues of Rama and those where he is depicted together with his companions from the epic.

Gopinath Rao mentions a place, where firstly Parasurama and then Rama the son of

Dasaratha have been united in a group. He gives us the following facts:

Parasurāma, 120 angulas, two-armed, right: arrow, left: sūci gesture. Crowned with braids of hair. Body of red colour, white clothes (Elements 1/i, 186)

Rāma, 120 angulas, two-armed, right: arrow, left: bow. Body in the tribhanga posture. Crown (189).

Sita comes up to Rama's shoulders, two-armed, right arm hanging down. Left: blue lotus flower. No bhanga. Hair put in a knot (190).

. Laksmana, 116 angulas, comes up to Rama's shoulders or ears (190).

Hanumat, 84 angulas, comes upto Rāma's hips, his right hand on his mouth. His left hand hanging up to the knees, covering his private parts (190) (473).

Such portions can doubtless be supplemented by further researches, when the manuscripts, in which they are to be found, come to light. But these are significant only for modern iconography, and as we are more interested in the older descriptions of Rama, i.e. both in individual and in group representations. It will be better for us to pay attention to what archaelogy can offer us.

The oldest remains of a sculptural representation of a Rama scene were discovered by Cunningham on the Bharhut stūpa (474). On the balustrade surrounding this monument for Buddhist worship, among several jātaka representations one found a scene which reminded of the Dasaratha-jātaka. Von Oldenburg, however, has doubts about this identification and does not consider that this relief has as yet been correctly explained (475). In actual fact the figures appear to me to be much too mutilated and hence with too little expression in order to allow the justification of such an explanation. Actually there is not the least reason to suppose that this jātaka story should be depicted together with so many other elements from jātaka-collections.

We, unfortunately, do not have any large reliefs in ancient India of the kind of Bhavabhūti murals. Despite this, they definitely existed is proved by the fragments we have found. For instance Vogel found in Sahēth-Mahēth (Śrāvastī) terracotta sculptures with representations from the Rāma legend. The said pieces could be dated by him and he placed them back to the Gupta period, between the fourth to the seventh centuries. Unfortunately these fragments are very few and it is not always certain which particular scene is being handled (476).

Daya Ram Sahni brought certain reliefs to light, which perhaps belonged to a Visnu temple in the vicinity of Deogarh. These pieces are clearer and must also have belonged to the Gupta period (477). With this our material for the north is exhausted.

On a pillar in the Lokeśvara temple, which was constructed by sūtradhāra Guṇḍa for Lokamahādevī, the queen of the Western Calukyan King Vikramāditya II, and which preserved the memory of three invasions of Kanci, we find depictions of Rāma stories, thereby we also find inscriptions which are highly welcome. These are in Old Canarese script and mention the following persons: Suppaṇagi (Sūrpaṇakhā), Lakkaṇan (Lakṣmaṇa), Rāman, Rāvaṇan, Karadūṣaṇam (Khara and Dūṣaṇa), Site, Poccari (?), Mariccan (Mārīca), Supāriśa (Supārśva), and Jaṭāyu. The pillar can be dated back to the eighth century (478).

On the Kailāsa temple of Ellora, also from the eighth century, there is a relief which shows the fight between the two monkey kings Sugrīva and Vālin, together with a relief showing the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaņa (479).

A later construction, the Amrtesvara temple in Amrtapura (Mysore), dates back to the year 1196. Here we find the complete picture-series of the Rāma legend as they occur in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, and other legends (480).

In Kumbhakonam a real Rāma temple was established in 1450. On its walls and pillars there are representations of Rāma —we can see them in plates given by Jouveau-Dubreuil—and here the rules are closely followed, which I have just narrated according to the facts given by Gopinatha Rao. We can see here on one of the pillars of the mandapa under a big Kālamakara arch: Rāma, and Sītā coming upto his shoulders, Lakṣmaṇa of the same size, and Hanumat who does not come up higher than Rāma's hips. Among these, other depictions from the Rāma legend are also found (481). In Vijayanagar (Hampi) the famous Hazāra-Rāma temple was built in 1513 and its walls are decorated with scenes from the Rāma legend (482).

From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we have the enormous temple complex of Rāmeśvaram, the largest in the whole of South India. It is situated on a small island on the extreme southern tip of the continent. This reminds one of the fact that Rāma; after his return from Lankā, worshipped the Śiva-linga. This temple belongs, along with the Rāma-bridge, to the remnants of Rāma's fight against Rāvaņa (483).

Without intending to do so, while listing the monuments I have travelled from north to south, because I have proceeded chronologically. But at the same time, our material has taken on a different colour.

In the north, we were dealing with Rāma depictions in Viṣṇu temples which occurred along with the stories of the other avatāras of the god (Śrāvastī, Amṛtapura). In the south, temples are for the worship of Rāma as a godhead and the character of Viṣṇu recedes into the background. Even in Rāmeśvaram, the old Śiva sanctum (Linga) had to give way to the worship of Rāma.

Thus we can see in this development a complete parallel to that what we find about

the role of Rāma in literature: in other words, a continual increase in worship which finally culminates in absolute deification. But now we can see that this worship came to the south after the first millennium and there reached a particularly high stage of efflorescence. Jouveau-Dubreuil found a large number of Rāma depictions in south India from the period of Vijayanagar (14th to 16th centuries) and Madura (16th century till today) but "the change is complete, if one takes into consideration the sculptures of the old temples for purposes of comparison. Nowhere does one see such popular pictures of Sītā, Latchoumana, Hanouman, Ravana etc. But inspite of all our researches, we have not been able to find a single picture in the temples of the Pallavas which could be identified with Rāma".

And further: "The book Sankara-vijaya (Triumph of Sankara) by Anandagiri, which can be dated to later tenth century, gives a list of the gods which were worshipped at his time, but this work does not mention either Rāma, nor Sîta, nor Hanouman". The author thus comes to the conclusion, that probably under the influence of the dynasty of Vijayanagar, the cult of Rāma emerged in south India. (Hanumān is till today the patron deity of the city)" (484).

As it has already been mentioned at the beginning, we need not look for wall-paintings of the Rāma legends in older times. But among miniature paintings, there are several which deal with this matter. One of the most valuable series of such pictures are the illustrations in Akbar's Persian Rāmāyaṇa. This manuscript is at present available in London. The cost of its production has been estimated upto £20,000. This masterpiece which was completed in 1582 has 129 illustrations and miniatures (485).

After that we have the manuscript of Tulsī Dās' Rām-carit-mānasa, which is in the possession of the Maharaja of Benaras (486).

Such manuscripts are, however, products of a later period. This is also valid for the pictures, which are reproduced as illustrations in editions of the Rāmāyaṇa and are to be found all over India.

Jouveau-Dubreuil has given a list of the most important and most popular depictions of Rāma in his book on south Indian iconography. Among them we find Rāma's wedding (Sītā-kalyāṇa), the construction of the bridge (Rāma-setu-bandha), the battle (Rāvaṇa-yuddha), the worship of the Linga Rāmanātha-svāmin in Ramesvaram (Rāma-linga), and the coronation (Rāmābhiṣeka 487). In the same manner, one comes across the depiction of Hanumat, who brings the mountain with the medicinal herbs (488). Enough of this has been mentioned.

The investigation of the latest asthethic synthesis between East and West, which has saved us from some dubious pleasures, should not interest us here.

But we must have a look at something else more closely, namely, the report about Rāma statues of the 12th century which can perhaps give us more exactly the period in which the worship of Rāma began, and which could become particularly important for us, as our Javanese reliefs fall into a period before and after this century. Bhandarkar writes that Madhva, the founder of the Mādhva sect, went after his initiation to the Himalayas and on his return brought back with him the statues of Digvijaya Rāma and Vedavyāsa. Further, he reports that he sent his pupil Naraharitīrtha later to Orissa on account of original statues of Rāma and Sītā. At first glance, it appears as if we have to already deal here with the worship of Rāma in the sense of later Rāmaservice. But in the philosophical system of the two persons named above, Rāma does not as yet play the role of the absolute God, as in the system of Rāmānuja (489). Therefore, we can suppose the beginning of Rāma worship only here. The very fact that Vedavyāsa refers to him as Viṣnu-avatāra, makes us suppose that Viṣnu rather than Rāma was more important. To come to a conclusion from these facts that there was a Rāma cult in the eleventh century appears to me to be premature. The road leading to this cult was first paved by Rāmānanda.

But now what is the position of depictions of Rāma outside India. In Burma we find a temple Nathlaung Kyaung at Pagan, where outside in the niches, the avatāras of Viṣnu were to be found and can still be seen partly (490). Rāmacandra is also among them but unfortunately his statue has been mutilated and we can only recognize the bow among his attributes. It is clear from our material that, in the other hand there must have been an arrow. The temple can be dated back to the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

The Medaw Kyaung, a Buddhist monastery from the nineteenth century, in other words very recent, proves that the legend of Rāma had not, in the meantime, been forgotten. The depiction of the court of Rāvaṇa and the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa, have been depicted in wood carving (492).

In Thailand we find only very recent depictions. They can be seen on the walls of the temple Wat Xetuphon in Bangkok as a freeze on the outer balustrade, in the upper parts of Vihan Khot of the same temple, and as a wall painting in the circumambulation path of the temple Vat Phra: Këo (491). Kampuchea is not far behind.

In the big monastery of Phnom-Pén there are no fewer than one hundred and ninety three paintings with depictions from the Rāma legends, each one about one and a half meters in height (493). Much more important and together with the Javanese the most important Rāma reliefs outside India are to be found in the ruins of Angkor Vat and Ba Puon (494). Coedès dates the ruins of Angkor Vat to the eleventh or twelfth century whereas the remains of Ba Puon are older (495). Even other temple ruins have Rāma depictions but none so complete and numerous as those of Angkor Vat and Ba Puon.

For the sake of completeness I would like to mention further, the Pran Theat Beray with a battle between Valin and Sugriva (496).

Much more and much better is to be found in Java (734).

Besides a single relief, whose significance is dubious, we find the Rāma legend or parts of it in Candi Lara Jongran and Candi Panataran in some way depicted, which justifies in each sense a comparative study as the one presented here. Then as destiny would have it both temples were built in two different parts of Java, namely the second in East, where the peak of Hindu-Javanese art is to be found. If the sculptors and architects of the first period in Java were Hindus, then the ones of the second period were Javanese, who had been apprentices with the Hindus. Temporally before the first style lies the style of motherland India, after the second came the real Javanese style, which is still alive to this day.

Both temples build the highly appreciated stages of development between ancient India and the Java of today; the same material for both of them demands investigation.

VII. THE RĀMA RELIEFS OF LARA JONGRAN

A Javanese legend narrates that Ratu Baka, the king of Měndan. Kamulan, a powerful king of Central Java, wanted to ravish his own daughter Devi Rětna Cěndila. The girl fled from her father to a place, where she was safe from him. There she met one Jaka Bandun, the son of a nun. The youth fell in love with this beautiful girl and wanted to get her favour. Devi Rětna Cěndila agreed if he could construct in a single night Candi Sevu, Thousand Temple. Full of zeal Jaka Bandun started his work and would certainly have managed to carry out the task if the pounding of the paddy by the girls of Prambanan had not disclosed to him that his work was in vain because that was a certain sign that the sun would shortly be rising over the horizon.

Other writers report that it was not Candi Sevu but Candi Lara Jongran which was constructed and that it was not the pounding of the paddy as a sign of the rising sun which caused the task of the youth to be in vain but that the girl (who was not Devi Rětna Cendila, but called Lara Jongran) herself gave the order to start the pounding of the paddy much earlier than usual.

Lara Jongran's statue is to be found till today in the niche of the temple and is worshipped by both young and old.

The said statue is not of Lara Jongran but of Durga, the spouse of Siva. And the temple complex was also never built in one night, but the name which was found in the legend is used today. Veth wrote in his "Java" about this group of temples: "... And when we come to Prambanan, we see to the left nearby some hills, which consist of masses of broken stones covered with plant and bushes" (497).

Even today one can see "fallen masses of stone" which have been investigated after Veth wrote his report, and partly cleaned, but there are no traces left of plants and bushes. On the contrary, if someone undertakes the same journey as Veth did, he will be able to observe much activity. Scaffoldings have been erected, stones have been put together in order to be fixed into the temple facade again. The visitor would be able to see that the Department of Archaeology is doing its best to restore that which had been spoiled by dilettants (498).

Not far from the River Opak in a square, the temple complex of Lara Jongran is situated (499). It is close to Prambanan and very near to it are numerous other big and small temples. A large part of the temple ruins have, however, been lost to scholarship and lovers of art, in one of the dam connections of the river. The situation is really remarkable, surrounded on all sides by temples, which were constructed by Buddhists of strong missionary zeal and situated in a region which in the history of old Java was known as Buddhist, stands the temple complex, resembling a manifestation of Hinduism. On the western side of the square, which is made by the eight major temples of Lara Jongran, there is a temple for each of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahman, Siva and Visnu, the Siva temple being the largest and in the middle, whereas Visnu and Brahman have smaller temples to both sides of the Siva temple.

Exactly opposite these three temples, are three other smaller temples. What these temples were for, is not proved beyond doubt. One is, however, of the opinion and with a certain amount of reason that these temples were dedicated to the vehicles of the three

gods, and in the case of the middle one it is nearly determined.

There are two further smaller temples, which are situated on the outer ends of the square, which lies between the two temple rows. The whole complex was perhaps surrounded by four (500) rows of small temples, which would bring the total number of the temples upto two hundred and thirty two.

In niches on the outer side of the temples, as well as in the actual sancta, we still find statues of the different manifestations of the appropriate gods: Siva, Visnu and Brahman. In other parts of the buildings, we find dikpālas, rsis, avatāras and on the inner side of the balustrade we find depictions of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends (501). All in all, the while complex gives such a strong impression of non-Buddhist thought that one is forced to ask oneself the question, as Prof. Krom did, that perhaps one can see here an anti-Buddhist tendency. Actually this supposition is not too incorrect, if one looks up the history of this period a little more closely.

The dynasty of the Sailendras, living in the "Goldland" Sumatra, was known in both Further and Hinter India through temple-donations and it preserved its connections with both north and south India. In the last decades of the eighth and the first decades of the ninth century, this dynasty must have possessed a position of power, which made it possible for them to achieve great things in the field of religion. Barabudur, perhaps the most important of all Buddhist monuments, came into existence under their rule (502).

Even further, under their auspices, a large number of big and small temples were constructed in Central Java, which gave the whole region the character of a "holy land"

of the Buddhists, just as Lhasa is today the "holy city" for the Buddhists of Tibet and Mongolia. The inscriptions which have come to us from this region and from this time, even though they are few in number, do not leave any doubt about their powerful position. But . . . suddenly we have an inscription from the same area which does not mention any traces of this power and gives the names of kings who do not fit into the picture and it is the inscription of the year 847 from Kědu. The title, which we find in this inscription, is the same as we find later in connection with Indonesian names. It is named as Śriman Arya-samarottunga. Samarottunga is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Balitun in the beginning of the tenth century, uttunga is a favourite epithet for the kings of East Java in later times (503).

From the same year 847, there is yet another inscription which makes one suspect exactly the opposite (504). It has several Malayan references and reminds one of the actual empire of the Sailendras in Sumatra, Śrīvijaya. Further the country to which the document refers is spoken of as tanah (buda) paravis. The mention of paravis, we find again in another document, which was made in the name of the Sumatran empire of Śrīvijaya. Surprisingly enough, this inscription begins with the words Namaśśivāya, homage to Śiva, which we would not expect in a document of Buddhist empire Śrīvijaya. Two further inscriptions of the years 852 and 853 do not mention any names of kings but give the impression as if they stood under East Javanese influence. Thence onwards we find only East Javanese royal names in Central as well as in East Java so that we can assume that at this time the Buddhist empire of the Sailendras had perished.

We have thus for Central Java, a Buddhist empire which is proved by the document of temple donations, and also following it a non-Buddhist one which had its capital in East Java but also ruled over Central Java (505).

It is exactly the same as we find in art.

Barabudur and other Buddhist monuments, all situated in Central Java, can be seen as a closed group, as opposed to the temples of Lara Jongran.

And just as we find the style of Lara Jongran continued in East Java, we thus find in history, the culmination of the non-Buddhist dynasty in Central Java and also in East Java.

Due to these very reasons, it seems probable that the temple complex of Lara Jongran must be more recent than the Buddhist temples, but even other facts support this. Van Erp pointed to the fact that while constructing Lara Jongran marl-stone was used in large quantities which came from a nearby quarry. We also find this marl-stone in a few other temples in the neighbourhood. Since it was easier to hew the marl-stone than the boulders

brought from far and wide, with which the temples were constructed in other circumstances, it is not to be assumed that initially the easier method was applied and this was substituted by a more difficult one later. On the contrary, it must have been the other way round, and thus we can assume that the use of marl-stone leads us to the fact that Lara Jongran is actually younger than the other Buddhist monuments of Central Java (506).

Thus we now have some indications for dating it. The monument must have been begun after reports about the Sailendra kings cease; because it is difficult to assume that these Buddhist devotees would have otherwise allowed something like this to happen, if they had been still in power. Such reports do not go beyond approximately the middle of the ninth century.

Yet something else came to an end, namely the general reports about an empire in Central Java. We hear nothing about such an empire after about 915, so that we can determine that Lara Jongran was constructed in the second half of the ninth century, perhaps a little earlier or a little later (507).

Any other discussions regarding the time of construction would lead us into the field of conjecture but this should not stop us from investigating, which assumption is more probable.

One of the most important kings of the period of East (Old) Javanese rule over Central Java is Dakşa, whose full name was Śrī mahārāja śrī daksottama-bahubajra-pratipakṣa-kṣaya. Rouffaer was of the opinion that the king was the founder of Lara Jongran (508). The reasons for this assumption were to be found in two records of the kings which have been dated according to a particular era, namely that of Śrī Sanjaya.

Without considering these reasons cogent enough that one can make certain statements, I shall believe that this hypothesis is not very far from the truth. It is clear that one of the three inscriptions, found close to Lara Jongran, is to be ascribed to Daksa, whereas the second one must have been inscribed during his rule (509). The third does not mention his name, as it is a few decades older and in any case does not contradict the Saivaite character of this period (510).

As it has already been said that no certainty is possible in the matter, but both these proofs of Dakşa's religious leanings found in the vicinity of Lara Jongran allow the possibility of considering Dakşa as the founder.

But a second question is also to be answered. What is Lara Jongran? Is it a foundation like the numerous Buddhist temples around it?

Van Eerde believes that the group of monuments was a state temple. The various smaller temples were supposed to represent the different parts of the capital, and that the whole complex showed a strong similarity to such complexes in Bali (511).

At another place I had pointed to the unity of form and content of Lara Jongran, which resembled a Puranic system whereby each god stood in a particular defined relationship to other gods and was given his place accordingly (512). This may be true for the complex of a huge mausoleum, in which the different great figures of the empire were identified with gods (also this does not seem to be very probable), but this does not really allow itself to be superimposed on a temple complex which has a rather arbitrary mode of construction, as per Van Eerde. It would have been rather remarkable if the city had exactly as many parts and single gods as the small temples in the rows around the main temple. Their numbers cannot be arbitrary and must stand in relationship to other causes. In any case the occurrence of such rows of temples is not restricted only to Java, we also come across them in Hinter India, where perhaps their importance can be explained to some extent.

I would stick to the opinion to consider the temple complex as a definite practical application of one or other Puranic system and as a kind of Puranic pendant to the Mahayanist Barabudur, perhaps even of a pre-Puranic system.

On the inner sides of the balustrades of the main temple of the whole complex, which has been dedicated to Siva, we find representations of the Rāma legend on long and short relief panels (339, plate 1). From the outside one cannot in any case make out what a wonderful treasure of reliefs are there inside. They also do not really belong to the temple. This can be culled from the fact that here the god Siva is worshipped, whereas Rāma appearing in these reliefs is an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Further the legend has been depicted only partly. Some loose pieces were also found nearby which represent the episode from the later part of the legend. One thus concludes that in all probability the complete legend of Rāma had been depicted.

The only temple for which these reliefs could be considered was that of Brahman, as the Kṛṣṇa legend is depicted on the Viṣṇu temple. Thus all the reliefs are Viṣṇuite irrespective of the temple to which they are attached. It is important to remark on this connection of the reliefs and the temples, especially if we take into consideration that in East Java this connection has become even more flexible and sometimes is not there at all.

The story starts to the right of the main entrance in conformity with pradakṣiṇā. Since one has the monument on the right side, to the left one sees one after the other a long relief, four short ones and again a long relief. Each of these consists of narrow blocks of stones, which are as high as the reliefs themselves. Such a group is repeated four times, each time divided from one another by one of the four entrances.

Plates 2, 3

For a detailed description these blocks of stone are a great relief, because we can divide each individual relief in sub-divisions and thus determine more exactly the details. I shall now signify the individual reliefs with Roman numerals, the scenes to be found on them in Hindu-Arabic numerals, and finally the individual stones will be marked by the letters of the alphabet (513).

I.1a (plates 2, 3). In front of a rock, Vișnu's vehicle Garuda is sitting in sila-position. A snake is crawling over the rock and hypnotizing a bird. Further we see two squirrellike animals (Javanese bajin), which are scratching themselves with the back paws and are hiding themselves in the shade.

A weasel-like animal runs over the rocks. Garuda is sitting on the banks of a lake, in which fish are swimming. He is holding in his hand a flower, a blue lotus (514), utpala, which is depicted as a sign of worship. His ornaments are almost royal, only the lack of a crown and of having the hair dressed as a brahmana give him a different rank.

On the upper side of the rock one can see something else: perhaps an eye? Compare the fish eyes on b. What is the meaning of this is I cannot tell.

Visnu-Nārāyana resting on his universal serpent Ananta or Śesa, is I.1b (plate 3). floating on the water which consists of numerous animals. The God, whom Garuda is worshipping, is four-armed and has a divine aureole. To the right at the back, he is holding the cakra, the sun-wheel, and to the left behind, the winged sankha. His right hand in front lets the upavita, the thread of pearls marking the caste, slip through his fingers unnoticeably, whereas the left hand in front is in a gesture, vara-mudra, which points to a boon or to acceptance. The God is sitting in mahārājalīlā, "great king comfort", a posture in which he is supported by a cloth around the knees.

The depiction of Visnu in India, which corresponds in the main to this is the so-called Vaikuntha-Nārāyana and not Visnu Śesaśāyin, as Vogel has mentioned in his description of the relief (515).

One of the most typical characteristics of the latter is, that he is lying down and sleeping. But here he is sitting upright in a comfortable position and qlearly awake as is proven by his hand-posture. Krishna Sastri says about the Vaikuntha-Nārāyana: "God Vishnu sitting comfortably on his serpent throne, is called Vaikuntha-Nārāyaņa". position of the legs is however different: "The left leg is dangling down and the right one is bent at the knee. The left hand is resting on the knee-cap, while the right hand is placed carelessly on the head of the serpent. Both the hands at the back are holding the weapons sankha and cakra" (516). The description does not quite conform to the enclosed picture. We should not forget that the relief of Lara Jongran is not a cult-statue but a representation

Plate 3

of Vișnu in a particular episode. The descriptions of cult-idols, taken from silpasastra etc., can only be considered here as comparative material and should never be taken as explanation of the scheme.

I.1c (plate 3). A group of four royal persons sitting down with a royal or divine ascetic before them, who is offering something in his open hands to the above-mentioned Visnu. Two others have also something in their hands which can be identified as flowers.

The group depicted on the last panel created the biggest difficulties in interpretation. Groneman saw four women, but also at the same time recognized that their breasts were missing, and this was otherwise the safe method of determining the sex, if the clothes were not to be seen in detail (517). He tried, however, to explain this with a somewhat romantic theory. The lack of breasts was supposed to mean the lack of fertility of Daśaratha's queens, and it was exactly this lack of fertility which Daśaratha wanted to change through his sacrifice. Groneman, therefore, wants to explain this relief as the depiction of the famous sacrifice made by Daśaratha for the sake of children. The actual moments depicted were supposed to be the point when Visnu offered the queens of Daśaratha the elixir of fertility.

We shall have occasions at different points to come across other such explanations of complete lack of knowledge of the doctors who have tried to explain this relief, which I would like to ignore if his mistakes were not the same as the ones which a total layman normally makes. One of the most common mistakes is his explanation, from analogous phenomena, from present times. Thus Groneman identifies the bearded man sitting in the front as Dasaratha because he has a beard—an explanation which seems to be quite possible. But when one is knowledgeable even to a certain extent about ancient Indian and Indonesian customs then one knows that a beard did not signify advanced age, since in these countries, a beard does not have anything to do with age. What a beard can, however mean is the position of a particular person in society and in particular it is one of the symbols of an ascetic whether rich or poor, high or low. We have an ascetic in front of us. At the same time the crown points to the fact that he is of divine or royal origin. The jewellery for the divine or the royal personages is exactly the same. This is a point about which there is often an error. If a particular god has to be identified, it is done on the basis of the attributes. In such a case the aureole does not play any role (518).

Van Stein Callenfels identifies the ascetic with Rsyasrnga, who is carrying out the sacrifice to Visnu and is sitting before Dasaratha with his wives.

Krom and Vogel explain the relief as the depiction of gods who are requesting Vișnu to incarnate himself and not to go into the question as to who could be their leader.

Plate 3

Without any doubt, the last explanation seems to come nearest to the truth. Because as far as we know, we have no literary evidence about a sacrifice taking place on the sea shore, whereas Kālidāsa and others explicity mention a place near the ocean where the gods had gone to meet Visnu. The most grievous error of the sculptor to depict three men in place of the wives of Dasaratha, which has been claimed by Van Stein Callenfels, is something we cannot accept just like that.

One difficulty, however, remains and that is the figure of the bearded asectic. In the Ramāyaņa, Brahman is mentioned as the leader of gods (528), but Vogel had already shown convincingly that it was impossible that the Rāmāyana was followed here. In the Mahābhārata it is Agni, but even this is difficult since Agni directs itself to Brahman and not to Vișnu (519). Kalidasa speaks of Bhrgu. As the relief could point to the events in this poem, we could perhaps think of Bhrgu or some such person (521). A comparison with the depiction of Brahman in other places of the same temple, shows us clearly that in no case Brahman can be meant. In the cella of the Brahman temple there is the main figure of the god in which he is depicted as having four heads and being beardless (522). In this latter peculiarity lies the reason why we can identify that bearded man of our relief with Brahman, especially when we take into consideration that later, for instance at Sinhasari, he is depicted with a beard (523, statue in Leiden). In the pantheon of Candi Lara Jongran we also find the archetype of the divine ascetic in the figure of the so-called Siva Guru, which has been depicted approximately in the same way, as is normally done for the Indian rsis Nārada, Agastya etc. (524).

Remarkable is the fact that Visnu is characterised particularly as strong and the other figures as little gods, that one is forced to ask oneself whether there was not a purpose behind this.

We can find a solution to the problem in two ways: either that the other personages are not gods or that Vișnu had a position in some system or the other which was much higher than that of the other gods. For both points of view there is some evidence and this does not make the solution any easier.

In Baldaeus, we come across the following passage: "After he (Ravana) had ruled for some thousands of years over all kings, he became extremely arrogant and proud and wanted no longer to recognize even Ixora but wanted that his subjects should worship him instead. After his subjects had followed him in this wish for twentyfive years they began to get upset and called on Ixora that although they had been forced to worship Ravana due to his immense power but in actual fact they still retained belief in Ixora Plate 3 (contd.)

in their hearts that he alone was the origin of all good things, and therefore they requested him to liberate them from Rāvaṇa by killing him, so that they would once again serve him and worship him. During all this the people prayed and fasted for three days" (525). We have here not the gods, but Rāvaṇa's subjects, who are calling Ixora for help. Ziegenbalg mentions in another version that the gods were also present (526).

In case, the relief does actually depict gods, that would mean that the predominant position of Visnu comes very much to the forefront. I would like to point to the evidence of the same predominant position of Mahabisnu in the Malayan hikayats.

Inspite of all this, if is extremely difficult to decide finally. It is more or less certain, that here Visnu is being asked for his help against Rāvaṇa. But by whom is not clear at this stage and I would like to add at this juncture that I do not think it probable that in actual fact, the gods are meant to be depicted here. Because more than the lack of the aureole, there is also the lack of all other attributes.

I.2d (plate 4). A king is sitting in a comfortable posture on a throne in front of a building, decorated with carvings. In his left hand he is holding something in front of his body. The right hand is lying in his lap. Near the building are utensils and other objects, which represent the wealth of the king.

I.2e (plate 4). A queen is sitting nearby and as is correct, slightly behind the king. She is holding a flower in her upraised hand, which is pointing towards the left. On the roof of the building we find the stereotype returning doves and other birds, which I will not always mention.

The wall of the building is decorated with carvings, which is a motif, of which there is a variant in the cella of the Siva temple. This motif has been called a carpet or a wall paper design (528), which does not quite meet its name. The actual design is not very clear on the relief but it appears that a rhombus pattern has been used here.

Near the place, where the king and the queens are sitting on cushions, there is a flower-offering on a tray, puspa-nyāsa. The offering consists of some scattered flowers, belonging to those which we saw in the hands of the royal personages, further a puspabhājana, a basket with beautifully decorated flowers. Some mango fruits are lying nearby and these probably belong to this offering.

A second woman who does not have a crown, but whose ornaments still show her to be some one of high rank, is sitting in the background near the building. In the foreground two men are also sitting, and of these one has a high crown and a flower in his hand, whereas the other is much too mutilated to be identified clearly. Despite this fact I believe

Plate 4 (contd.)

that even if he were decorated with royal jewellery and even if he did not have a crown, he has a diadem like them, being worn by the figure appearing in f.

Behind these, two men are standing against the wall. In the background we can see an elephant with a bell around his neck. Some trees of decoration can also be seen on the forehead. His trunk is decorated with hangings. Due to this reason and others, I consider him to be a royal elephant.

In front of the elephant, there is a horse in a damaged condition. Two persons, men with royal ornaments and diadems, are sitting in the foreground. In a door, in the wall one can see a servant, escorting him. He has a flower in his hand and is looking towards the right. The lock of the door shows that we are in an inner courtyard and that the door does not represent the entrance to a palace. In the foreground is a big bird with a long beak who is drinking (?) from a vessel, in which there are some plants. Finally there is the damaged figure of a curly-haired servant together with a tamemongoose (527) with a bell. One can just make out the foot of a person on the following stone who is missing.

It does not appear to me to be difficult to explain this scene, although there are different opinions about it. Groneman does not know, as to which episode is meant here and considers the persons without breasts on e and f as women. He only considers the figure with a high crown, makuta, to be a man. He believes that this scene depicts the royal family and is of the opinion that the full breasts of the first queen (on e) is a proof of the fact that Rāma has already been born (529).

Van Stein Callenfels is of the opinion that the scene depicts the discussion about marriage and says: "Dasaratha is discussing the marriage of his sons, probably with one of his queens. A possible candidate is sitting in the background. In front of the royal couple, there is one of the four sons. The other three, among them Rama is to be recognised by his crown, are sitting to one side" (530).

In order to give a reasonable explanation, we must ask ourselves, as to who the main personages are. We have unfortunately no way of determining this on the basis of the aureoles but perhaps by the crowns. The king on d and the woman next to him have complete royal or divine crowns. The man sitting slightly towards the back on e, has a crown which differs from the others only in one respect. In the middle to both right and left, we can clearly see a spiral which cannot be seen in other crowns. These spirals are -as will become clear in the course of the description of the individual reliefs-symbols of persons of lower ranks than the persons with crowns without spirals. We find this kind

Plate 4 (contd.)

of crown worn by Sugrīva, Sītā and other accompanying figures, although it must also be admitted that the rule is not always followed. These differences cannot be ascribed to the carelessness of the sculptors, but to our own lack of knowledge about the exact meaning. In any case we have to assume this till the contrary is proved (531).

If we accept this differentiation according to the crowns as a proper basis for our study, then we can consider the two figures in front of the building as the main persons and at the same time those to whom the flowers are being offered. The servant in the door also has a flower in his hand but it is probably not correct that a person of such an inferior rank can participate in the offerings. In my opinion this servant is actually a gatekeeper, who has just brought the flowers and whose flower is supposed to represent this fact. At the same time, the gesture of the queen points in the direction from where the offering came, namely towards the door. We could perhaps assume a person not depicted in the relief, who sent the doorkeeper inside in order to bring out the flower-offering, such a scene would not be unusual in India today (532). In other words, this scene depicts the request of some one asking king Dasaratha for an audience and at this stage of the story, it could be no one else than Visvāmitra, who is asking for help against the rākṣasas.

The four princes represent the four brothers: Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatru-

ghna. The figure with the crown is then perhaps Rama.

But who is this mysterious woman sitting next to the building? She cannot possibly be a maid or a slave, because her ornaments contradict this fact. Among her ornaments there is also the sacred thread which points to a particular position in society. In my opinion, she can be no one else than the daughter of Dasaratha of the hikayats, called Kukuā in Candravatī's Bengali Rāmāyana. The fact that we have to consult the Sumatran version for a proper explanation of our reliefs, does not make this fact less probable for the scene.

So the meaning of the complete relief could be: Viśvāmitra presents himself before king Dasaratha. He meets the king, when he is sitting with his chief queen, his four sons and his daughter in the garden of his palace.

And in actual fact, we do find a reference in Valmīki, which mentions this request of Visvāmitra and reports that he sent the dvārādhyakṣa, doorkeeper, inside to report his arrival (533).

Plate 4 (contd.)

The relief, however, does present enough odd things, which are not quite clear, for instance the curly-haired servant on f. Such curly-haired people will be seen often later on; they can be brought into connection with the theory whereby Negroes were imported to the Island of Java. Prof. Kern points to the word jengi in his edition of the document from Gedanan. He is of the opinion that jengi means 'Negro' and connects it up with Malayan jangi, taken from Persian zanggi (534). In this connection, Van Stein Callenfels points to the occurrence of curly-haired people on a relief, carrying out menial jobs. Although the similarity between these figures rests solely on their curly hair, it is not impossible that we actually have Negro slaves here. But I do not think it absolutely necessary, because even in India there are tribes with such features and look very much like Africans (535).

Another point to notice is that on the outermost left side of the relief, some stones are apparently missing. As far as I can judge, the gap does not appear to be big enough to presuppose a separate scene here. In all probability there was something for completing the scene of Dasaratha's court analogous to what we find at other places on the reliefs (536).

II.3a (plate 5). A queen.

IIb. A second queen, a king and the third queen are sitting in front of a small building leaning against a round pillow (537). Two of the women, both on b, are holding a blue lotus, utpala, in their hands. Both women, who are sitting to the right of the king, have "spiral crowns" on their heads, the third one to the left of the king, however, has usual head-dress which could point to the fact that she is the chief queen Kausalya.

IIc. A royal ascetic, recognizable as such by his beard and his hairdo, is sitting, if I am not mistaken, a little higher than the king on b and is accompanied by a problematic pupil. The ascetic is leaning on a round pillow and has on his forehead perhaps the mark of his sect (538).

IId, e. Two youthful pupils of the ascetic with a particular hairdo are sitting on the floor. One of them is holding up a blue lotus flower, utpala. Two curly-haired slaves are busy with two horses, whereas a third one is sitting somewhat more in the foreground with a flower in his right hand and something which is not recognizable in the left. But this could be the leftover of a piece which has been partly broken and the rest of which is to be found behind the back of the slate. It was probably a fly-whisk, made from yak-hair (camara).

Groneman, who in the case of this relief too applies his breast theory, offers an explanation connecting it with the going of Rama and Laksmana (539) to the forest. Plate 5 (contd.)

Van Stein Callenfels interprets the scene as the visit of Viśvāmitra to Daśaratha's palace (540). I consider this explanation to be mainly correct. Only I would like to point out that one cannot talk of a palace here, but on the contrary we see here how Daśaratha is going to Viśvāmitra, king and sage in one person, and at the moment when Daśaratha was leaving his palace. This could also explain the higher position of the ascetic. The flowers would also point to such a meeting. Vālmīki wrote that Daśaratha, after he had learnt of the arrival of Viśvāmitra, went to the saint, however, accompanied by his priests (542). Regarding the identification of the second woman on b with Kausalyā, I should like to remark that it is not quite certain that the stone slabs a and b, belong together. Groneman is of the opinion that something is missing between them and regrets the fact, that during his stay in Holland, at the time of the excavation and the "clearing" of the temples, some stones or the other were placed in the wrong order. Since there is a break in stone b, it is not possible to check on the connecting stone from it.

One should pay special attention to the jatā-makuta which the saint has, which we can call more a hairdo than a crown. The pupil sitting next to Viśvāmitra has the same hairdo, although he is not as high in rank: as a result the ornamentation is simple. He has neither a beard nor the sacred thread (upavīta). The hairdo of both youths is quite odd and reminds one of the reliefs of the Ananda temple of Pagan, Burma (541).

III.4a (plate 8). A prince with bow and arrow.

IIIb. A royal asectic with a bow in his right hand, and gesturing with his left. Next to him is a prince in the position of shooting, alidha. Then again a curly-haired slave, who is also shooting with a bow. All of them are on a rock.

IIIc (plate 9). Two small deer (543) and a small animal of prey (544) are lying on the rock. A bird.

IIId. Two rākṣasas are found under low-hanging clouds. The one in front is feminine. Both have diadems on their heads and on top of them have a feather in a small scull. The rākṣasa has been hit on the thigh and the,rākṣasī on the breast.

Groneman is doubtlessly correct when he identifies this episode with the story of Tātakā (545). Viśvāmitra is standing behind Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa very much in the background. Interesting is the hand-posture of the ascetic: the tips of the thumb and the middle finger are held together, in a mudrā, which is known to us from Buddhist iconomiddle finger are held together, in a mudrā, which is known to us from Buddhist iconomiddle finger are held together, in a mudrā, which is known to us from Buddhist iconomiddle finger are held together, in a mudrā, which is known to us from Buddhist iconomiddle finger are held together, in a mudrā, which is known to us from Buddhist iconomidately. (Such mudrās on our reliefs are a little less abstract and fall in the same line of the natural character of the ones depicted here:) It is the vitarka-mudrā, the hand-posture of reasoning. In actual fact, we have here a scene of convincing Rāma, as at first he had

Plates 8, 9

reservations against killing a woman, who was actually Tātakā.

The shooting position of the prince is, as is to be expected, absolutely correct and conforms closely to what we find about it in Brahmanical and Buddhist iconography. The position of the slave, however, is clumsy and boorish, as can be seen from the remains of the legs.

It is worthy of notice, as Groneman had rightly seen, that Tāṭakā is not threatening in the Javanese way with the first two fingers but only with the first, tarjanī, as in Hindu art (546). Such minor proofs of the nationality of the sculptors, as well as the mudrās which are not found on the island of Java, should not be neglected by us.

Regarding the companion of Tāṭakā, I have not been able to find any parallel in literature. I believe that we have to assume here a double appearance of Tāṭakā, whereby it is not clear whether this originated in the story or in the mind of the sculptor. Such double appearances we have seen earlier, and their occurrence here, need not surprise us in the context of the following relief. In all probability it appears that this companion had become a regular figure in the legend of Rāma.

The clouds could perhaps point to the fact that the attack of Tātakā took place from the air.

IV.5a (plate 10). There are two novices, recognizable as such by their hairdo and without beards. They are sitting in front of a mandapa (Javanese pendapa), from the ceiling of which a bell is hanging and on which there is a kamandalu, vessel for sacred water. We have thus a hermitage scene before us.

IVb (plate 10). The bearded asectic is sitting in front of his cell and is busy with his sacrifice which is artistically put together, on a vedi, altar, and surrounded by a ridge. He is carrying out a ritual ceremony and has in his right hand a flower and in his left hand an unknown object (549). Two birds are sitting on a mango tree and the third one is coming towards the asectic. On the platform all kinds of sacrificial foods are lying, such as fruits, pieces of meat, and flowers, etc.

IVc (plate 10-11). A prince is shooting, while a curly-haired slave is hiding himself behind him with arrows in his hand.

IVd (plate 11). A second prince, of a less higher rank which is to be judged from his "spiral crown", is just about to pierce a rakṣasa with his sword. He has caught hold of the demon by his wrist. The rākṣasa is armed with a short, broad and round (oval?) shield. On his head, he has a diadem with a feather but without scull. The hair is long and curly.

Plates 10, 11

A second rākṣasa, similarly armed and with a similar hairdo, has been hit in the side by an arrow and is falling down. In place of the sword he has a club.

Van Stein Callenfels identifies the scene correctly as the one in which Subāhu is killed and Mārīca is shot into the sea, although the latter scene is not expressed here (578).

Groneman has not clearly made the best of the facts at his disposal, as we read: "The hermit is engaged in a peaceful task, feeding his birds" (547).

V.6a (plates 12, 13). Two servants, one of whom is

b. talking to a third one. In front of a small building we find an ascetic. A youthful royal personage and

c. two other figures of royal rank sitting, recognizable as such by their crowns. The one sitting on the right has crossed his arms across his breast, whereas the one on the left is holding up flowers in one hand and with his right hand is making the vitarka-mudra. All of them are sitting at a slight height.

V.7d (plate 13). A prince is shooting. A second one is kneeling next to him on the ground. Two princesses are standing nearby

e. and a third one is on slab e.

This picture is clear as far as its general meaning is concerned. The shooting without any recognizable goal, the three women stand on the side, towards which the arrow is pointed. All this clearly shows that there can be no question of a fight here. The scene can be nothing else but the svayamvara of Sitā. But even if the scene is clear, it is still not completely understandable in detail. There are decidedly too many persons on the reliefs. Of course, it is true that a svayamvara had several people together, but these people on the relief play more or less a major role.

Van Stein Callenfels identifies the persons under the balcony as Janaka, Laksmana, Visvāmitra and others, besides Rāma, Sītā and her maid servants. Apart from the fact that rich ornaments of these women make it impossible for them to be maid servants, we notice that he has not explained two further persons (550). Groneman does not give any details.

I would now like to make an attempt to explain everything as correctly as possible.

Plates 12, 13

For this, I would like to point to the different hand-postures. The ascetic under the balcony has a double gesture: with his left hand a vara-mudra, while his right hand is pointing towards something. The latter is, however, not very clear and it appears to me that something has broken off. The person, sitting to the extreme left of the group, has his right hand in the vitarka posture. It is clear that the person who is sitting between them, is the central point of the conversation and is agreeing to something, as is to be seen from his humble position. If we look at the crowns then we see, that the person on the extreme right could be the ascetic Viśvāmitra, that the person in the humble position has a royal crown, and the other sitting in between has a less decorated crown. The person to the left in the group has a crown of a totally different kind than what we have already seen or what we shall see further. It is easy to assume that this man could be identified as king Janaka, the king of a different country (according to his crown). We can identify the prince with a complete crown as Rāma, who is agreeing to try his luck with the bow. The person sitting between Viśvāmitra and Rāma could be Laksmana. Viśvāmitra is encouraging Rāma to try his luck (551). But we must apply the synoptical method on this relief also. On the second part (d, e) we see Rama carrying out that what had been decided upon in the first part. Supported by Laksmana, he carries out the trial shot, whereby this bow does not break, as in the epic.

In one of the three women, we doubtless recognize Sītā, probably the one in front. Who the other two women are, is not quite clear. They could perhaps be Sītā's sisters. In the epic, however, there is no mention of two sisters. But such deviation from Valmiki's epic need not worry us too much as there are so many other deviations.

VI.8a (plates 14, 15). A royal personage armed with a bow.

- Two men running fast, one of them with royal ornaments, the other with long hair, made into a hairdo and giving the impression that we have a raksasa. He is swinging his club above his head.
- c. A prince armed with a long arrow is running in the same direction as the previous two. Above him there is a cloud-like figure. A king without weapons.
- A royal lady, turning away from an almost naked man, who is coming towards her probably with a raised hand. In this hand he has a rosary, akṣamālā, and in the other a bow. The head of this figure is badly damaged. Between these two there is a dwarf with long curly locks and a bag on his chest.
 - e. A royal sage armed with a bow. A man is running just behind him. He is carrying

Plates 14, 15

arrows and has a similar hairdo. Behind him a similar figure armed with an axe and still further another figure, who has a trident. A person whose head is badly damaged is being trampled under their feet. The last four persons are almost naked and all have a necklace of large akṣa beads.

Groneman has no explanation for this relief and sways between the departure from Mithila, in other words after Rāma has got his bride in the svayamvara, and the departure of Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana for the Dandaka forest. In the first case, he thinks that the other figures are the high nobles of Ayodhyā, who are coming towards the prince, carrying the imperial insignia (552).

Van Stein Callenfels identifies this scene with the meeting with Parasurama. This identification, which I consider to be correct, he however, leaves all the possibilities for it completely open (553). It is possible to explain this in several ways.

I shall start with slab b, which Van Stein Callenfels claims, is not in its proper place. In actual fact the connections on both sides are very dubious, besides it is absolutely impossible to talk of a rākṣasa at this point. But even if we leave out both the right slabs of the relief, even then the others are not by any means easy to explain.

We could identify the two persons in the middle as perhaps Rāma and Sīta and behind them Laksmana. But who is the naked man? It is Parasurāma? And who are the others?

We do not read in the epic that the gods and other divine beings rushed to the meeting of Rāma with Paraśurāma. If this is so then we could identify the first person with Paraśurāma, the second with Brahman, who according to the epic was the leader of the gods in this matter, and the others with the rest of the gods. But several other features contradict this supposition. To begin with, the attributes of the "gods" do not conform at all to the ones of the real gods, further the second figure at the same time gives us a clue to the right explanation. If we consider the following scene, on which the shooting with a bow is depicted, then we see exactly the same royal ascetic standing near Rāma, but no one else of the others. We thus have to identify the second person with Paraśurāma. The fact that he is carrying a bow, is to be found in both the stories of his meeting in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in the Mahābhārata (554). But also on the great akṣas, which all of them have, we can see that this complete group is connected with Paraśurāma. In the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa — which has been in any case quite abridged and conveys possibly less factual knowledge, to make more room possible for a poetic, mostly hair-

Plates 14, 15

splitting metaphoric language—it is explicitly stated that Paraśurāma had a rosary of akṣa beads, which hung from his right car (155). In one form or the other this must have been a particular characteristic of Paraśurāma and his pupils. I believe that the other naked persons are just these. Unfortunately the object which the foremost one is carrying in his left hand, is rather damaged. But the others have certain things, which we identify definitely with Paraśurāma, the arrows for his bow and the axe, paraśu. The arrow could then be the same which Paraśurāma personally handed over to Rāma, after his pilgrimage, tīrthayātrā, before Rāma undertakes the shooting trial.

Unfortunately I have nowhere found a trident, as carried by the last figure as a special attribute of Parasurāma. Perhaps the connection could be that he is a devotee of Siva, as has been reported in the drama (556).

The man, who is being trampled upon, is threatening again in a non-Javanese way (cf. Tāṭakā on III.4c).

Finally I would like to consider the dwarf which is preeding the group of Rāma. We could perhaps identify him as someone similar to the palavija of Javanese courts. But the custom is not properly Javanese, to present a king with such odd creatures, be if as a tribute or as a present.

VI.9f (plate 15). In front of some tree (mango or fig?), there is a prince, shooting an arrow. Behind him there is a kneeling figure without a crown and a standing royal personage of whom, however, one can only see the head. On the other side there is a royal ascetic and curly haired bearded man in a kneeling posture, who is holding a quiver of arrows.

g. A scene in a forest with animals: a monkey (a second monkey but very damaged), an animal with scales (557), a snake. In the foreground there are two mushrooms, Aronsstäbe (English?). Above all, there is a flying arrow.

The explanation of this relief does not present many difficulties. Rāma is shooting Paraśurāma's arrow from his bow and takes away from him through this act all the areas, won by him (Rāma). Bhargava personally looks on and makes gestures with his left hand in a similar fashion as we found on the relief V.6b, by Viśvāmitra. Even here I think that the gesture is one of pointing to something.

The explanation of the other two persons is a little more difficult. Unfortunately the crown is badly damaged, so that we cannot gather any information from it. The kneeling figure appears to be more a follower of Parasurāma than of Rāma.

VI.10h (plate 16). Near a mandapa, there are two servants. A flower in the hair points to the extreme youth of one of them. The other has a sword in his hand. In front of the mandapa, a royal personage with his consort is leaning on a round pillow. The woman whose hairdo is very exceptional, is

- i. pointing to heaped up sacrificial objects, which consist of a vessel with flowers, three baskets with fruits, the manner of the two smaller baskets is similar to the jeruk, whereas the other kind is not to be found in Java. Further, there are coconuts etc. Then there is a tame mongoose with a bell. Above all these sits a youthful royal personage. Next to him there are sacrificial vessels, resting on sticks and ornamentation which is bent due to heaviness, like the Balinese pepenjoran (559).
- j. Five young servants are sitting under a mango tree, on which two birds are sitting. The hindmost of them has a royal sente leaf in his hand which points to the presence of a king.

Van Stein Callenfels identifies the king with Dasaratha and the queen with Kaikeyī who is reminding him of his promise and asking for the banishment of Rāma (558).

Unfortunately he does not mention the reasons for this identification. The reason why I accept his explanation is mainly due to the hairdo of the queen. Looking at it more exactly, it consists of five round plaits of hair, lying on top of each other and getting smaller. If one now compares this with the crown of a king then one can notice clearly that it is constructed exactly in the same way and the hairdo of the woman is nothing but the basic structure of man's crown with the big difference that the crown of the king, has additional jewels and a diadem. On the other hand the hairdo of the woman points to the fact that she has taken the jewels out of her hair. Now it has been especially mentioned in the Rāmāyana, that Kaikeyī took off her jewels, when she lamented to Daśaratha about her son and wanted to achieve the fulfilment of her wish (560). As the sente leaf held by a king, in this case by Daśaratha, as well as the heaped up sacrificial objects point to a particular celebration and the hairdo of the queen, points to the removal of the ornaments, we can easily assume that here that scene is meant in which Kaikeyī requests Daśaratha to fulfil his promise. Perhaps, but it is only a perhaps, we can identify the prince who is sitting above the sacrificial objects as Bharata, Kaikeyī's son.

VII.11a (plates 17, 20). A brahmana is holding a kamandalu. A king is sitting in mahārājalīlā in front of a small building, fully decorated with sculptures.

- Near this king is a young prince, also in mahārājalīlā, with knee-strap. Two brahmanas are also present but of a lesser rank than the first one. The one behind has a vessel with flowers and the one in front is carrying a conch.
- c. A woman with a sword and a shield is doing a war dance. In front of her, on the floor, is a vessel full of flowers and next to her again flowers and a fruit. On the other side there is a woman seated, similarly decorated as the dancer, holding in her right hand a bell and a bow in her left. Between both women there is a diadem(?).
- A group of persons playing music. In the foreground there is a man with a mustache, who is reciting from a manuscript (563) and another who is playing with his hand on two drums. Behind there are two women with hand drums and two more where, however, it is not possible to determine what they are doing in the concert. On 12e there is a sitting musician, with a bell or damaru.

Van Stein Callenfels explains the relief as follows: "The sprinkling of Rama and Sītā with holy water on the morning of the consecration ceremony (564).

But immediately there is a problem: who is the youth on Rāma's left side? Is it again an "error"? I will try to give a solution without trying to see an error on the part of the sculptor. It is clear that here some sort of celebration is taking place. The dancing girls, the musicians and the priests leave no doubt about it. It is equally clear that this celebration is meant for two persons in front of the building. Both are men: one of them apparently younger and of lower rank than the other.

In the story of Rama, there is actually a mention of a ritual, ablution before the consecration, and after the request of Kaikeyi, which however does not take place. This ritual of ablution which was to be carried out on Rama and Sita cannot be meant here as there is no woman present. The position of the brahmana on a could mean that the crowned person is being sprinkled by him with the holy water from the vessel. But it is very unusual, as the reliefs on Barabudur prove that such an action was carried out on a person with a crown (565). If we look at the relief a little more closely, we see that the kamandalu is closed and its opening is pointing away from the prince. Thus there can be no mention of the fact that a crowned king is being sprinkled with holy water. At best one can suppose that the priest is going up to the person with his vessel, who could be sprinkled with holy water. On account of his special hairdo, this would then be the young prince,

Plates 17, 20

whose youth is shown by a flower in his hair in contrast with the old king near him. We could conveniently identify him with Rāma, and in such a case the other royal personage could be no one else but Daśaratha himself. But this assumption immediately conflicts with the story that Daśaratha had given up the plan to crown Rāma as yuvarāja, crown prince, which had been depicted on the previous panel. It is not to be supposed that after his decision, he would still set down for the consecration ceremony. We have no other option but to identify the prince with Bharata. Vālmiki writes that Bharata's consecration in actual fact never took place and that he only functioned as the representative of his elder brother Rāma. But we have already seen several deviations from the epic, and in the hikayats Bharata is shown to have less problems in accepting the kingship for himself. In certain versions there is even mention of a consecration of Bharata (Bĕrdana and Citradana).

Baldaeus is of the opinion that Dasaratha wants to hand over the kingdom to Rāma and then takes on to the life of an ascetic. Hence the prince on the relief could be Rāma but this opinion does not offer a better solution (568), as the request of Kaikeyī comes after this scene and not afterwards as in our panels. Regarding the kind of celebration being carried out, I would like to quote what Oldenberg says about the abhiṣeka: "A special anointing or more exactly a sprinkling (abhiṣeka) consecrates the king to his position. A further action raises him to a higher rank and that is the coronation (rājasūya)". Further: "The king receives the anointment sitting on a chair, which has been made from the udumbara tree . . . (569). The actual rājasūya, which however is not represented here, has several other rites. Weber is of the opinion that abhiṣeka is the core of the rājasūya (570).

The dance of the woman is typically tantrik, as we can see in the Buddhist iconography of the Dākini's and other creatures of the ferocious type (561). It is a dance which can be seen till today as a religious dance in Tibet. Perhaps it would be good, if we consider the dance on our relief as belonging to the celebration and not just meant for the pleasure of the audience (562). Regarding the musical instruments both the double-sided drums are easily recognizable. The position and the way of playing suggest that we do not have here a kind of mrdanga, which a small drum with two sides, which would be more similar to the Javanese kendan, but we have here a kind of bāmya with one drum side (566). The smaller hand drums are damarus, as they are often to be seen even today with snake-charmers, but seldom used for ceremonies (567). But I must, however, point to the non-Indonesian

Plates 17, 20 (contd.) character of the ensemble.

VII.12e (plate 20). In front of a small building, decorated with carvings, we have three persons. The first one is a maid servant, looking back at the previous scene. The second, a royal queen, is making a gesture which reminds one of the vitarka-mudra. The third figure, a king, is leaning on a cushion and is apparently in a sad mood. Beneath the floor, there are vessels with flowers and gourds. In front of the king there is similarly a vessel with flowers and a fruit.

f. Two royal youths are sitting in front of a state elephant, who has a bell around its neck and a sheaf of leaves in his trunk, and in front of a horse sit two noble youths. Two servants are looking after the elephant.

If I had not already identified scene 10 with the request for Bharata's coronation as crown prince and Rāma's banishment, then one could have explained this scene as that. But now we have no other option but to identify this scene with the sorrow of the royal couple at the banishment of Rāma, which is presented on the following panels. Groneman identifies this scene with Rāma and Sītā sleeping, before their departure. But how he comes to the conclusion is a puzzle to me, just as he supposed that scene 11 presented the request of Kaikeyī (571). The royal elephant and the horse clearly point to the presence of a mahārāja.

However, the slave girl remains rather superfluous. Van Stein Callenfels also does not have any solution, though otherwise I agree to his explanation of the scene (572). The two noble youths also remain a puzzle, perhaps the forerunners of the panakawans, court jesters? Most probably this is not so, as the panakawans were always represented as somewhat deformed and resembling more the dwarf on VI.8d (573).

The panel f does not seem to be quite alright. Its connection to panel g is very doubtful. Perhaps one can assume that here a small stone has fallen away, which depicted the back portion of the elephant, going into the forest.

VII.13g (plate 21). A scene in a forest with rocks and animals (sciuridae) in a cave. Two servants are standing behind a chariot. One of them has a pocket in front of the chest. On the chariot there are three royal personages, among them is a woman. The person in front is holding a whip in his right hand. The one at the back is leaning against a decorated back-rest. Between the wheels, there is a small animal, whose head has broken off (a frog?). The chariot has four wheels and a

h. on to which a yoke is attached. The yoke is resting on the necks of two horses, who are pulling the chariot, the horses are decorated with hanging fly-whisks, camaras, and

Plate 21 (contd.)

have medallions on their chests.

The explanation of this scene is easy: Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa are sitting on a chariot, accompanied by some of their faithful servants. They are leaving Ayodhyā for the forest. We can see here the chariot, which is mentioned in the hikayats, but we do not see Sumantra, the charioteer, who plays a role in this scene in the epic.

VIII.14a (plate 22). Six craftsmen, of whom two are carrying chisels, Javanese petel. A third one has a small board, which has been plained towards the bottom. The others do not have recognizable tools or materials. They are all in a posture of intimate discussion.

b.c. A framework, resembling an inverted pyramid. The edge of its top portion is decorated with hanging pennants and streamers, whereas coconut leaves can be seen at the corners.

To the right, a kneeling craftsman is still working on it. On the top surface which consists of a lattice work, a craftsman standing behind it, is pushing a decorated casket through the openings (574). The casket is low and flat and is bound together with a decorative ribbon-like piece. The casket is standing on small legs.

c.d. To the left of this structure we see on the floor some servants and a woman, behind them a sage and further two servants are standing. The woman makes the gesture of granting a boon, vara-mudrā, the sage is holding out both hands in a gesture of receiving something, and one of the servants makes a gesture of surprise. A worker is to be seen in the background, again working on the structure. Very much in the foreground, there is an animal which probably is not found in Java. It is eating something. In front of the woman are three sealed money-bags.

Groneman has no idea about what is depicted here. Tonnet offers a solution, which Van Stein Callenfels has accepted. According to them this scene depicts the cremation of Dasaratha (575).

At this stage in the story to have a depiction of a scene, having something to do with the death of Dasaratha is not far-fetched. But who are the living persons? Mostly the craftsmen, then a curly-haired slave, some servants and a woman. If we consider the hairdo of the woman, we could perhaps identify her with a maid servant, as there are no ornaments. But she has a piece of cloth around her head, and the man to her left also has a similar covering for the head. This is not to be found otherwise on the other servants. Apart from this it is clear, that she is distributing money from sealed bags and that the person near her is also a part of this (right hand). For one reason or the other, we could

identify the woman with the widow, who has taken off her ornaments and covered her head. The person next to her is a male mourner (576). If the above-mentioned assumption is correct, then these figures could be nothing else but Kausalyā and Bharata, the widow of the dead Dasaratha and his son consecrated as his successor.

But the frame-like structure has still not been explained.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, we read of a funeral pyre on the banks of the river Śarayū, where the body of Dasaratha was cremated by Bharata, and after which followed the water ceremony. After that they returned and after the śrāddha ceremony on the twelfth and the thirteenth days, they gave donations to the brahamanas but on our relief the donation is already taking place and that too by the widow and even before the funeral pyre has been made ready. In the Malayan Hikayat Séri Rama, there is a mention (on pages 52-54) of the cremation of Dasaratha's body which was carried out by Berdana and Citradana and at the same time we read of the distribution of presents to the brahmanas by Mandu Dari, the widow. We also read, how the dead body was placed in a golden coffin, keranda emas, which was decorated. Of course, we find most of this also in the epic, but it is only Bharata who distributes the presents, whereas in the Hikayat Seri Rama the widow also participates in it. Taking everything into consideration, we shall have to identify the relief not with the actual cremation of the body but perhaps with the placing of the coffin on the pyre and the distribution of the presents (577).

IX.15a (plate 23). A rock with a four-footed animal on it.

- b. Two horsemen, perhaps noble youths, one of the small horses has bells around its neck.
- c. A king with an utpala in the hand, followed directly by a servant who has a bag in his belt.

IX.16d. A standing king is receiving sandals from one who is sitting.

e. A round cushion is seen against a small building, which is decorated with carvings, further a vessel with flowers and some flowers scattered about.

Groneman again does not know what this scene depicts, especially he is not able to explain the "rounded rectangular object" (578). Van Stein Callenfels is correct when he identifies this scene with the handing over of the sandals by Rama to Bharata, who was then supposed to act as his representative (579). He is silent about the several other people standing there. In order to get a cleaner picture, it would be better to divide up this relief into parts. Thus a b c would represent the coming of Bharata.

Plate 23 (contd.)

He is clearly wishing to have a meeting with Rāma as can be deduced from the lotus flower. d and e would then show the actual handing over of the sandals (580).

X.17a (plate 24). A servant with a (broken) sword and with a bag in front of his chest. Underneath, a snake is crawling out of the rocks. A prince with a blue lotus flower, which would again point to a meeting. Behind him nearby there is a second prince with a crown, which is less ornamented.

X.18b. A princess and two princes are seen, one of the princes is shooting an arrow. In front of him there is a kneeling person, without a crown.

- c. Between the trees two rākṣasas. One of them has a beard and is running away, whereas the other has fallen down. Their arms are pierced with arrows. The rākṣasas are decorated with many sculls.
- d. A house with one of the side-walls open. Inside one can see some vessels with lotus flowers under a drapery. Beneath the house there is an unknown animal. In front, there is a sage, sitting in front of his sacrificial fire. The house is situated on a rock.

Groneman identifies this scene with a certain amount of definiteness as the fight with Khara (and Dūṣaṇa). Van Stein Callenfels is less sure of this identification. The latter is of the opinion that three brothers are to be seen on the relief and mentions that this combination is not clear to him, since Bharata had already returned to his capital, before Rāma began his fight with Khara (581). But if we apply the synoptic method to this relief then the excess of personages disappears. Thus we see on a and partly on b Rāma with his royal crown, and Sitā with the spiral crown, and between both Lakṣmaṇa (582). A servant is accompanying them on their way through the forest. On b and then further on Rāma is shooting an arrow and has on his head a less ornamented crown. Lakṣmaṇa is also there with his right hand in abhaya-mudrā, the gesture of "do not fear". On the ground Sītā is sitting without a crown and full of pain and sorrow. Because Virādha, one of the rākṣasas had abducted her and the brothers managed to liberate her only after a very trying battle.

That here actually this episode and none other is meant becomes clear to us, when we look at the wounds of the rākṣasas. We find that both of them have been injured in the arms and in the epic too, it is stated that the brothers broke their arms. Further, the face of Sītā, kneeling on the ground, is full of disgust. As far as the position of Lakṣmaṇa's hand is concerned, I am of the opinion that this gesture apart from being an abhaya-mudrā can also be a vitarka-mudrā, in particular the hand which I believe, I can see between him and Rāma, approximately at the height of Sītā's face. His words thus could have been to Sītā "do not fear (abhaya) because (vitarka indicates that) Rāma will bring out everything well in the end". The only problem which remains is the two rākṣasas, while in the text

we read only of one, namely Viradha. But we need not break our heads over this problem too much, because this is a doubling of the same person as in the case of Taṭakā.

The sage and his fire which points to the sage carrying out his penance could perhaps mean that Rama and his companions went from one hermit to another offering them help against the raksasas.

XI.19a (plate 25). Two tigers are cowering in a cave.

b, c. A bearded, curly-haired ascetic is sitting on the ground, near a small building, which consists of small pillars and woven bamboo. In front of this, there are two royal personages, who are leaning against a round pillow. The person, sitting slightly at the back, has laid his right hand on the shoulder of the one in front. In front of the seat, there is a small animal, whose head is broken off. On the other side (partly still on b), there is a vessel with food (?)

XI.20d. A royal personage, who has his left hand in a threatening gesture. Under his arm is an arrow of a special kind, which is falling down. In a small cave there is a nest with birds and on a tree there are two large birds with human faces, who are looking down. From the branch of the same tree, hangs a sacrificial basket and a fruit (583).

e. There is a similar fruit on the same branch and more birds on the tree. Below to the left a small squirrel (Javanese bajin) is climbing up the tree. Under the tree, there is a very large bird with outspread wings, whose head, however, is broken off.

Groneman identifies this scene as the first meeting with Jatayu, the vulture (584). But the threatening nature of the figure is in complete contradiction to the story, where the meeting was very harmonious and this leads one to suspect that Groneman's assumption is wrong. Van Stein Callenfels puts us on the right path, when he opines that this is the episode, when Rama punished the crow. It had troubled Sita and had stolen something from her sacrificial meat. It was then followed by Rama's arrow, made from plaited grass, and finally it lost one of its eyes as a punishment for its evil deed (585). Apart from the two "ape-like creatures" (587) which he identifies with the birds on the tree and the piece of dried meat which is hanging from the tree but which I prefer to identify as a decorated sacrificial basket like the Javanese ancak, basket. Apart from these two I completely accept his explanation, as far as the left part of the relief is concerned.

But there are still several difficulties.

I ask myself what have the three men to do in this episode, while in the story there is

Plate 25 (contd.)

only a mention of two men (Rāma and Laksmana) and a woman (Sītā)?

Further this episode in the epic comes before the arrival of Bharata, whereas here it occurs afterwards.

The latter may not be all that much of a problem, as the episode has been explained by the commentator as praksipta, interpolated. The first objection is more difficult. If we accept that one of the two men in front of the building is a woman and that the sculptors had made a mistake, then Laksmana is putting his hand on Sītā's shoulders in too familiar a fashion, while Rāma is busy punishing the bird. Therefore, we should perhaps divide up the depiction in two parts, and in the scene with the small animal which is being fed we could imagine something, which preceded the episode with the bird. Unfortunately such a scene is unknown but the fact that here three male persons are depicted, makes me stick to this division (588).

XII.21a (plate 28). A prince is leaning against a round pillow in front of a richly decorated (589) house on stilts. With his right hand, he is making a gesture of donation and of agreement.

b. A kneeling princess is holding up a cushion on which a bag of money and two flowers are lying. Her crown is a beautiful variation of the spiral. In front of her there is a third flower, and in the background there is a pot near a tree. Behind the princess, a curly-haired maid servant is kneeling.

c. A regally decorated woman is standing near a tree, with an utpala in her right hand.

It is clear that this is the episode of Surpanakha. But how?

Groneman is of the opinion that Sītā is serving Rāma here and that behind her Sūrpaṇakhā with "an animal face and ugly breasts" is hiding herself, and that on c she has converted herself into a beautiful woman in order to seduce Rāma (590). Of course it is possible that the offering of bags of money may have been a part of the daily service to Rāma but his gesture and posture should not be left unconsidered. His hand position could very well mean agreement and granting, which would perhaps not contradict Groneman's assumption. But it appears strange to us that a doctor with a long practice in India did not realize that Rāma's posture, to put it mildly, is totally unmannerly and that it is not thinkable that he would have taken on such a posture when Sītā came to offer her daily "present of money".

Plate 28 (contd.)

But then it is some one else, who is having the money donation handed over, namely Śūrpaṇakhā. The flowers lying on the cushion would again point to the fact that a meeting is taking place. Rāma's gesture agrees to the meeting but his posture makes it clear enough, what would then happen. The maid servant behind Sītā would be then just a servant and Sūrpaṇakhā, beautifully dressed, would be standing in anticipation of the visit. The utpala, that she is holding in her hand, would again point to a meeting.

Two sitting persons, one of them decorated with jewels. XII.22d (plates 28, 29). The scene is separated from the preceding one by a nanka, jack-fruit, tree.

- In front of a small open building, a prince is seen with a decorated bow in his hand. The left hand is stretched out in a threatening gesture (592). He is leaning against a round cushion. In front of him there is a vessel with flowers, which has fallen open.
- A kneeling woman with the usual princely ornaments. In front of a tree, there is an ugly-looking maid servant. Her hands show abhaya-mudrā and vitarka-mudrā. She has big bells in her ears.

No less than three episodes from the story of Rama can be considered for this scene. Firstly: Surpanakha is rejected by Laksmana, to whom she was sent by Rama. Secondly: she is complaining to her brother demon Khara about the mutilation of her face by Laksmana. Thirdly: she goes to Ravana to incite him to take revenge.

Groneman and Van Stein Callenfels are both for the third episode (591) but despite this fact there are enough reasons against this choice. Firstly, the fact that Ravana is depicted with just one head, whereas he is otherwise always shown on the reliefs with ten heads, when he is in his normal form. Further there is nothing that can be seen about the mutilation of Surpaņakhā and she is not depicted in the original form as a rākṣasī, which she should have had by now. Finally, Ravana is making a threatening gesture towards her which would not conform to the story, as we know it. These are reasons enough to reject the third explanation. Against the second explanation, the last two reasons would speak, whereas none of these problems arise in the case of the first. On the contrary the threatening gesture is very much correct here and even the "beautiful" form of Śūrpaṇakhā is in accordance with the story. The annoyed look on her face could be the result on the one hand of the insulting manner of Laksmana and on the other of the mudras of the maid servant who is perhaps saying "do not be afraid (abhaya), you can always take revenge (vitarka)" (593).

The two persons on d do not play any role in this episode.

XII.23g (plates 32, 33). In front of the small building a princess is sitting, leaning against a round pillow. Near her a man is cowering on the ground, whose face is damaged. The direction of his crown shows clearly that he is looking up to the princess.

- h. An archer in princely ornaments. A tree, which does not appear to be known in Java, is growing on the rock (the fruits are the same as we see among the sacrificial fruits on the relief VI.10i).
- i. A deer, Javanese kijan, which is to be judged from the necklace with bells, is not a normal animal. It is shot on the side by an arrow. Behind him a raksasa is flying away, screaming.
 - j. Rocks, birds, a snake and a bathing place with water reeds.

This is Rāma's hunt of the gazelle (594), in which Mārīca had changed himself in order to decoy Rāma away from Sītā. At the same time, that moment is depicted in which Mārīca cries out for help in Rāma's voice and Sītā hears this. The facial expression of Sītā does not have any doubt about this. The fish which Groneman saw swimming in the water have apparently disappeared because at least I cannot find them any more.

XIII.24a (plate 34). A very young servant is holding a banana in his hand, which a monkey is begging. It is a krida-markata, a tame monkey, as can be deduced from a rope around its body. Both are sitting under a mango tree, on which a bird is resting. Under the tree, there is a vessel with drinking water and a small mug is attached to it.

b. In front of an open house in which flowers, a kendi, and a vessel with fruits can be seen. A shocked, curly-haired slave girl is sitting. A small animal which is smaller than the one on relief VIII.14b is eating rice from a pot of rice which has fallen over. The falling over of a vessel always has an adverse significance. A lizard is crawling on the open shutters of the house and is being observed in a hostile manner by two birds on the roof. On a banana plant, a small bird is sitting, who is being threatened by a snake. In front of a tree, there is a vessel with one red and three blue lotuses.

c. A woman is being abducted by a sage, while a big bird is thrusting his claws into his crown. A camara, a pot of rice, a shallow vessel and

d. a chattra, together with jugs, which are falling down (595).

Sītā is being abducted by Rāvaṇa, disguised as a brahmana, after even Lakṣmaṇa has gone away from her. Who the big bird is, is not quite clear, as it could not be Jaṭāyu, who looks very different on the following panels.

XIII.25d (plate 35). In the air a large bird, threatened by a lance. An animal is hurrying away on a rock and in the foreground there are some mushrooms.

e. A flying demon is carrying a platform. On it there is a royal personage with many heads and many arms. He is holding a woman in his arms. This woman, without a crown, is giving the bird on d an object. On the left, the king has ten arms, of which the foremost is carrying a sword. Then there are two free hands, and after that in the following order: pāśa (noose), triśūla (trident), aṅkuśa (small spear), śara (arrow), dhanu (bow), paraśu (axe), and perhaps gadā (club). Some of his right hands are being used to carry the woman, while in one he has a sword (khadga) and in the other a lance. The rest of the panel belongs to the following scene (596).

Here also everything is absolutely clear. Rāvaṇa is flying through the air with abducted Sītā and on his way fights Jatāyu. Sītā is depicted here without a crown due to her abduction (compare X.18b). But there are still some deviations from the story in the epic. For instance, there Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa in a chariot, drawn by donkeys. Here we have a platform, which is being carried by a flying demon. This is a transition of the Javanese vilmana which is supposed to be synonymous with both Indonesian word vil and the Sanskrit word vimāna, both mean chariot. Whether the word vilmana arose out of this depiction of Rāvaṇa's chariot or whether it was the other way round, I have no way of deciding (597). A second deviation is that Sītā gives Jatāyu something, which we can immediately recognize as a ring. This can be found in the hikayats as well.

XIII.26e (plates 35, 36). Under a tree, which a squirrel (bajiń) is climbing up, a curly-haired servant is sitting, with a flower in his hand. Behind him stands a bow and a quiver full of arrows, besides an unrecognisable object.

- f. From the same tree, a second squirrel is jumping on to another. In the branches there is a bird. On the rocks sit two princes. One of them is sitting sadly resting his head in his hand, while the other
- g. is pointing to a large bird, who has a ring in its beak. There is a rock with three squirrels and a snake. Both men also belong to the following scene.

Here also everything is clear: Jatāyu hands over the ring which Sītā gave him on the preceding panel (this was the object which was not clear). It is surprising that Rāma, who is to be identified with the sad prince, has a crown much less ornamented than Lakṣmaṇa, who is making him aware of the bird. Perhaps we should consider this a mistake on the part of the sculptor. Remarkable also is the figure of the bird. It resembles more a very

Plates 35, 36 (contd.)

large parrot than a vulture, as mentioned in the epic. One could perhaps ascribe this deviation to the lack of knowledge of the Javanese sculptor who allowed his imagination to play a role, while making the figure of Jatayu. But if we accept this then we might make an error, as we can read the following in Moor: "And although he has also a name, which is equivalent to the king of vultures, he is however sometimes depicted as a parrot or even as a peacock" (598). Already in the cave temples of Ellora this animal has such a form, which is to be dated back much before the time of our reliefs (599).

XIII.27g (plate 36). Two servants: one young and another older. The first is armed with a bow, the second with a short broad sword.

- h. A prince with a long-stemmed utpala in his right and a small flower in his left hand. A second prince shooting an arrow from a bow. All this is happening on a rock.
- i. A giant with a necklace of snakes, a second face on his stomach, is being pierced by an arrow. In the right hand, he is holding a stone, and two more are lying on the ground. Below, in front of the rock, two large snakes are crawling out of their holes. One of them is persuing a frog.
- j. A divine figure emerging from it as if out of a lotus (600). Its hands are folded together for a puspăñjali. Under the lotus a scorpion is crawling into a hole.

Kabandha, the giant, whose head was put into his stomach by Indra, is killed by Rama. He was actually a divine gandharva, appears as such and ascends to heaven before the eyes of the brothers (601).

What is surprising here is that the giant has got a second head. Without doubt, this must have been so also in the textual version followed by the sculptor and hence we can not think of a mistake on the part of the sculptor. This episode has been modified to the extent of no knowledge in Indonesian texts (602).

XIV.28a (plate 37). A servant carrying an utpala, and a prince who is making the vitarka-mudrā with his right hand.

b. A second prince, armed with a bow.

XIV.29b. Again a prince, shooting with a bow in the alidha position. In the background, rocks and trees.

c (plate 37). A rock with snake and bird, a tree. Next to it a pond or a river, in which a crocodile is lying, hit by an arrow (603). Fish are swimming in the water. On the shore, a regally decorated woman is holding her hands up in puspanjali. Behind her, on the rocks there is a monkey, who is making a particular gesture.

d. Continuation of c. Blue and red lotuses. Fish, snails and a shore scenery with a pig.

Van Stein Callenfels made quite an effort to explain this relief. He saw here the interpolation of a well-known story from the Mahābhārata, in which Arjuna was caught by a crocodile, while bathing. The hero, however, dragged the animal to the shore and there it transformed itself into a divine nymph, who had once been changed into a crocodile by a curse (604). Although I do not consider the manner of representing the woman as being typical for a figure going to heaven, after being liberated from a curse, as Urheber would like to believe (605), yet I do not think it impossible that an interpolation of one epic into another took place in this manner.

On the contrary, in the hikayat itself we have been able to see a similar influence of exactly the same story. In S 231 it can be found again. It is more significant that this mixture took place on Indian soil itself. Because in the text, which Fauche used for his translation, we read about the raksasa, who is sent by Ravana after Hanuman, when the latter had gone to get the medical herbs (606). This raksasa, called Kalanemi, changed himself into an ascetic and gave the fatigued Hanuman the advice to take a bath in a nearby pond. As the monkey was bathing, he was caught by a female crocodile, whom he dragged to the shore in the same way as Arjuna.

But the relief has still not been explained as we see that the crocodile has been shot. It has not been possible for me to find this variant anywhere else.

It is not surprising that exactly at this point there should be an influence of one epic upon the other, because in the epic nothing really happens at this point, that means, that no typical episode takes place which could have an easy depiction. It is mentioned in the epic that Rāma and his brother came to Śabarī and were worshipped by this lady ascetic. It would be impossible to find a more neutral story, not lending itself to any prejudice. I have divided the relief into two parts, because no less than three princes have been depicted, in other words one too many. The stone a and the right half of the stone b depicts, how Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are going through the wilderness, immediately after that follows the episode with the crocodile.

XV.30a (plates 40, 41). A curly-haired slave with an umbrella.

b. A prince with utpala in his right hand, while the left is playing with the upavîta. A second prince with a small lotus in his right hand and a bow in his left. Nearby an arghya-basket and rocks.

XV.31c. A big monkey with a long tail is sitting in front of the rocks. Two princes, one with and the other without an aureole, the one on the right with a bow and arrow, the one on the left with utpala.

d. Two large monkeys. The one on the left carries a club and with his other hand points to the earth. Rocks, trees with birds, arum plants.

This relief was discovered by Groneman at first and it was this relief which gave rise to the idea that these depictions had something to do with the Rāmāyaṇa. It was interpreted as the meeting with Hanumat and Hanumat taking them to Sugrīva (607).

This relief has to be divided into two parts, it is beyond doubt. On the right half, we see Hanumat with the offered fruits in front of him. But whether this meeting has actually already taken place is doubtful. Hanumat's posture is not particularly submissive and the princes as well as their chattra-bearers do not take much notice of him. But this is definitely the case for the left half. A difficulty, however, comes up with the presence of two monkeys, whereas all the texts mention only one. It appears that the sculptor was not very exact in his execution of this relief because the crowns of the brothers on both halves of the relief show great differences. Specially, the figure on the left side of the stone c has lost all nobilty as far as the crown in concerned, as a complete diadem is missing, which was the lowest part of the crown (609).

However, another major problem comes up against this explanation of scene 31. The following relief depicts the "coincidental" meeting with Sugriva.

If we see on this relief that the monkeys take Rāma to Sugrīva, as is also to be read in the epic, then one can hardly speak of a "coincidental" meeting. It looks more like an "intentional" one.

As the explanation of the following reliefs is based on the hikayats and the Javanese Rāma story, it would be better to recall once again what they have written about the meeting with Hanumat.

In R 109-110 it is narrated, that Hanuman after his meeting with Seri Rama, went to his uncle Balia, although he at first wanted to go with Seri Rama to Sugriva. It appears to me, that this meeting with Balia (Valin) is a variant, which was made, in order to make the coincidental meeting with Sugriva possible, which is very typical and due one or other

Plates 40, 41 (contd.)

reason must be incorporated in the story.

Perhaps something similar is to be seen on our relief, so that it can be assumed that on the left half (c, d) the brothers and the monkeys are going their ways: Hanumat to Valin and Rama to Sugrīva, whose place of refuge is still unknown. We meet the monkeys again only after meeting Sugriva, whereas if the sculptor could have followed the epic, then Hanumat could not have been missing from the meeting with Sugriva.

As one recalls, the episode of Rama's fight with Valin and all that has been connected with it, has been depicted in Indian literature also often in very different ways. I recall only the version in the drama in which Sugriva rushes away only after he has heard the rumour about Rama's fight with Valin and he had not met the hero before (608).

But we must admit that the presence of the monkeys reminds one very much of such an appearance which shows the direction one does not exclude the other possibility fully as the monkeys could have gone off in yet another direction, after they had accompanied Rāma some way (610).

A prince, in a position of being sad and tired, sitting on XVI.32a (plates 42-44). the rocks. His seat has been given the look of a throne with a few flowers.

b. A royal personage is kneeling before the prince and is holding a quiver-like object in his hands. Mango tree and rocks.

A prince, with the same object as on b, is again kneeling. From a tree on XVI.33c. which a king, with the face of an animal, is sitting in a sad posture: water is flowing into the quiver. Under the tree is a small deer. On another tree there is a squirrel, further an unknown animal on the rocks (it has toes, a short broad head and very large ears). A snail.

Three royal figures, among them one with the face of an animal. The last one is kneeling down and is holding up his hands in anjali. The middle one has his right hand in vitarka- and the left in vara-mudra. The outermost figure is again kneeling down and is holding up his hands in anjali.

Groneman is of the opinion that this very rare panel depicts the lighting of a torch. But it has not been possible for me to discover anything being lit. By stretching one's imagination, one could perhaps see a flame in the thin flow of water, which is coming out of the tree (611). Van Stein Callenfels goes even further and talks about the lighting of a complete fire (612). I can discover nothing about this fire or of any material necessary for it, unless the tree is considered to be the fire, in which Sugriva is to be seen (then this is

Plates 42-44 (contd.)

the king with the face of an animal). Certainly this is an odd way of making a contract! He further speaks of a third phase (d) rather than of the actual meeting, whereby the whole hypothesis about the lighting of a fire becomes redundant, especially since one does not wish to assume that suddenly there was a change in the order in which the reliefs were to be read.

But it is clear why the people wanted to sec a fire on the relief whereby the agreement between Rāma and Sugrīva was made. (It is certain that the relief depicts the meeting of Rāma and Sugrīva and the following relief with the trial shot of Rāma leaves no doubt about this).

In Valmiki it is stated that the treaty with Sugriva was finalized by a big fire. This would not be the first and the only time when the interpreters of Indonesian and Indian Rāma stories have been misled by him. One sought for a particular object for the depiction of this scene. The reader who has gone through my contents of the hikayat would have already seen what is actually depicted here. In R 111, it is narrated that Seri Rama is thirsty and sends Laksemana to get water. After some time the latter comes back and offers Seri Rama water in a quiver (stone a and b of the relief). As the water tastes of tears, the two went looking for the source and found Sugrīva sitting there on a hillock, made of the secretion of his eyes, weeping so profusely that his tears formed a small reservoir, from which Laksemana filled the water. The hillock of the eye secretion does not conform to our relief but the version in the Javanese stories, dealing with this part of the epic would be more correct. SK55 offers a variant and reports that Rama was woken up by the tears of Sugriva, who was sitting on a tree. One can see that the combination of both these stories, which apparently belong to the same group, led to the version depicted on our relief. The gestures of Rama on d show that he agrees: to offer his help to Sugriva. I cannot decide whether the small deer played a role in the version which the sculptor has followed, but it does not seem to be necessary either (613).

XVII.35a (plate 45). A prince with utpala, accompanied by a servant with an umbrella, over the right shoulder of the servant hangs a flywhisk.

- b. A very badly mutilated archer. Trees.
- c. A monkey and a monkey king. The monkey has a fruit in his hand.
- d. Seven coconut trees on which there are six birds. In the foreground, there is another bird and on the first tree something like a squirrel (bajiń?). An arrow shot right through seven trunks (617).

Plate 45 (contd.)

This is another proof of the lack of exactitude with which Groneman explained the relief. He built up a hypothesis based on the absence of the arrow, and believed that thereby the arrow was meant which after the shot pierced a mountain, went into the underworld and finally returned of its own accord to its owner (614). This story is also found in Valmīki. In actual fact, we can see near Sugrīva's hands, the feathers of the arrow are stuck in the trunk and the peak stands out from the last of the trees of the same height. Through the trees. even the path of the arrow can be followed.

Baldaeus writes about "the trees which are in constant motion". Is this a reference to

the swinging bushes of the seven coconut palms? (615).

Another question is: what is Sugriva holding in his hand? It appears to me that something definite is meant with this position of the hand. If there was any indication in the text, one could always guess that Sugriva had caught hold of something which Rama shot through at the same time.

Also it is not possible to see clearly what is to be seen in the small cave on c. It

resembles most a coiled up snake.

And finally the flywhisk. I have identified the object as such because on plate no. XXXIV in Moor's Hindu Pantheon a similar object is to be found. The flywhisk depicted. there is not a camara of yak hair, as depicted on plates IX and XI, but it seems to me to be made of palm-leaves or is perhaps just a leaf from the fan-palm! On photo 2330 O.D. we come across a similar object (616).

A prince with a bow, is in front of a rock with a bird. XVIII.36a (plates 46, 47).

- In a cave, on top of which there are two muncaks and a bird, two princes are sitting, one of them apparently has an urna on the forehead. The one on the left points to - something that is happening on c, and his right hand has a gesture which seems to be explaining something. Behind them facing the figure on a, there is a hearded man engaged in a discussion.
- In front of rocks with trees, birds (kakadu?) etc., two monkey kings entangled in a fight, one is trying to throw the other down by tripping his step.

Valin-and Sugrīva locked in their first duel (618). The two princes, sitting nearby are: Rama who was not supposed to shoot as both the brothers were so similar in looks, and Laksmana who is pointing out this similarity to him. But to begin with the figure on a remains a puzzle. The ornamentation of the hair leads one to suppose that this is a very young prince or princess. Could it be Angada, Valin's son? But why does he not have the face of an animal? Or is it again a mistake, and is she Tārā, the spouse of Vālin? It is all

Plate 46, 47 (contd.)

very uncertain.

Finally it remains obscure as to what is the meaning of the urna on Rama's forehead.

XVIII.37d (plates 48, 49). Two princes, one with arrows, the other shooting them.

- e. A servant sitting down, with a bag hanging from his belt, in which there are some fruits (?). A tree and bushes, birds, rocks, etc.
- f. Two fighting monkey kings. One of them is entwined by creepers, the other is raising up his right hand and has been hit in the chest by an arrow. Tree with squirrel.

The second fight between Sugriva and Valin, this time ending in a more favourable result for the first, because he is recognizable through the creepers, which he is wearing around his waist like an apron. Rama is thus able to strike down Valin with his arrow (619).

The apron of leaves conforms to what the hikayats contain, but it deviates from Valmiki's version, where it is said that a gajapuspi was put around his neck as a sign of recognition (620).

XVIII.38f (plates 50, 51). A queen, sitting near and behind

- g. a monkey king, whose face is damaged, but one can just make out his monkey fangs. The king is sitting on a throne, leaning against a round cushion in front of a building. His left hand is in vara-mudra.
- h. Three monkeys, sitting near the feet of a king. In front of them there is a vessel with bags of gold, above that some more vessels and a basket with food.
- i. Five monkeys, two of which are armed with swords, one of them is dancing, and another is holding a basket of fruits (?).
- j. Two more monkeys, one of them in front is holding a flower-basket, and the one behind is looking at a burning sacrificial frame. A house with a window, through which a hand can be seen. Near the window, a small unrecognizable animal. On the roof there are two birds of prey, one of them is swallowing something.

For this scene too, there is no need for a detailed description. Sugriva is sitting with his spouse on a throne, in front of his palace and is giving expensive gifts to his subjects. A dance is also being performed by the monkeys as a part of the celebrations.

XIX.39a (plate 52). A monkey with a sword and a prince with a bow.

A second prince, pointing with his left hand to a monkey king, who is holding the bud of an utpala in his left hand. Hanumat, Laksmana, Rama and Sugriva go to a place in order to discuss their plans to

find Sītā. Rāma points to an appropriate place for this purpose.

Under a tree, on which a squirrel is climbing, sits a monkey. Near a house there is a pitcher with drinking water and a small tumbler. There are lotuses in the pitcher. A prince is sitting in front of the house, leaning against a round cushion. His right hand is resting on a small round cushion.

A second prince and a monkey king are sitting near the first one in front of the

house. The prince is in affjali. Near the house there is a vessel with utpalas.

Hanumat, Rāma and Sugrīva have taken their places for the discussion. Rāma accedes to something (vara-mudra) and Laksmana shows him deference (anjali), but what these gestures indicate in detail, I have not been able to determine.

A scene in a forest. A pond with lotus flowers. Rocks. XIX.41e (plates 53-56). Snakes. A squirrel and three similar animals as on XVI.33c.

f. Four monkeys, two of them armed with clubs, under a mango tree.

A monkey and a monkey king, kneeling before a throne on which two princes are sitting.

One them has a bow.

- Three women are sitting one behind the other, with the hairdo getting less ornamented respectively. A curly-haired maid servant, facing the other side. She makes a horrified gesture and is striking something with a twig of leaves. Below a second maid servant.
- j. A house on pillars, richly decorated with carvings (623). Boxes, vessels and bags, all sealed, point to the fact that here we have either a palace or its treasury. The low roof is supported by pillars.
- k. On the roof of the house, a monkey is running away, holding two stolen mangoes in his paws. Out of fear, he has soiled the roof.

Sugrīva (?) brings before Rāma the monkeys who are to search Sîtā. Perhaps the three women are: Tārā, Vālin's and now Sugrīva's spouse, and two other women of lesser rank but they are not supposed to have any relationship with Rama.

Groneman identified a noteworthy episode on the stones i, j and k, as depicting the arrival of Hanumat in Lanka after his jump (621). Van Stein Callenfels is of the opinion

Plates 53-56 (contd.)

that the scene is only for filling up the relief and I would also like to support this view (622). If a particular episode is meant here, then it can only be the stealing of Rāvaṇa's mangoes by Hanumat. At least the monkey on this relief has two similar fruits in his paws (compare R 132, 133). But this scene actually occurs after he has found Sītā. On the other hand, such fillers very often appear on the extreme left side of the relief, so that this particular scene is not the sole one like it.

XX.42a (plate 57). Two princesses (the frontmost is to be judged so on the basis of her dress) and a kneeling curly-haired slave girl. In the air a bird.

b. In a cave sits a monkey, on the rocks a snake and a young tiger.

XX.43c. The same monkey, pointing to the previous picture. Near him, on a wooden platter, there are some cake-like objects (seven pieces). The continuation of the rocks, snake and birds etc.

- d. In front of an open house a princess, sitting, and leaning against cushions. Near her there are flowers, vessels with flowers, flowers in the house.
 - e. A curly-haired maid servant.

Again we have here two episodes on one relief. First, two princesses: Sitā and Trijatā (who was also of royal blood, as Vibhīsana was her father), are being made aware by the slave girl of the presence of a big monkey, who is hiding himself (627). In the second part, Hanumat has already introduced himself to Sītā and told her how he has come. Trijaṭā is not present in this scene. In this respect, my opinion differs from Van Stein Callenfel's at least when he says that he is describing the curly-haired woman in the following words: "near Sītā we see the daughter of Vibhīsana, Kālā" (read:Trijaṭā?) (624).

Groneman identifies the standing persons on a as Rama and Laksmana (625). The breasts of one of the figures at least should have taught him something better, and regarding the second figure I would like to refer to the clothing of women on XIV.27 and XVIII.35 (626).

XXI.44a (plate 58). Four rākṣasas and a monkey who is holding two mangoes in his paws. The lastmost rākṣasa is carrying a vessel, the two in front are engaged in tying a cloth around the tail of the monkey. Some traces of a fifth figure are to be seen.

XXI.45b. A bearded rākṣasa, who is carrying a box.

c. Two rākṣasas with swords, one of them broad and the other narrow, then a house from which an animal is fleeing (628).

d (plate 58). A monkey with a burning tail is flying over the roof of the house. Two rākṣasas with small swords fall to the ground. A tree.

Here we see Hanumat actually depicted in possession of the mangoes and the results of this theft. Vālmīki does not mention anything about this, whereas in the hikayats these fruits of Rāvana are especially mentioned. The vessel, which is being held up by one of the rākṣasas, naturally contains the oil with which Hanumat's tail was soaked.

Soon after this, flames break forth, the treasures are brought from the house to a safer place. It is interesting to note that the person, who first thinks of bringing his possessions to safety, is an ascetic (629).

XXII.46a (plate 59). A scene with rocks, a tree with open roots. Under an overhanging rock, sits a disputing monkey. Perhaps he is holding something in his hand (630).

- b. A prince is sitting on a throne, in front of a cave, leaning on a cushion, decorated with a floral pattern. On the forehead, he has an urna (?). A belt around his knees supports his easy position. In front of him, there is a present of flowers.
 - c. A second prince and a monkey king. The first one is holding up an utpala.
 - d. A servant and two monkeys, one of whom has a fruit in his hand.

This scene is absolutely clear: Hanumat reports about his visit to Lanka. Perhaps he is giving Rama, at the same time, Sita's jewel. Laksmana and Sugriva listen to him.

XXIII.47a (plate 62). A monkey and a figure, which is badly damaged but which is decorated in a princely manner.

- b. Two princes, one of them is carrying an arrow and the other is sitting in a challenging position on a rock throne with a bow and arrow in his hand. The bow is unstrung.
- c. The sea and the rocky beach with birds. At a distance, there are buildings (a city?) and a ship(?). In the sea, there are wild fish of prey, among them a shark. From the water a king (god) is coming up, who is offering a puspanjali.

d. Sea.

Even as in the preceding scene there are hardly any difficulties here. Rāma who has still not shot from his unstrung bow, sees the God of the Sea, rising from the water, offering him worship (631). This depiction differs slightly from Valmīki, where there is a mention of shooting but completely conforms to the hikayats. The person without the crown must be Sugrīva, who is talking to Hanumat. I do not, however, understand his

Plate 62 (contd.)

gestures. It is surprising that on Groneman's photo (plate XXXIIIc23) Sugrīva still has a head, although it appears to me that even at that time, it was no more to be seen on the relief.

XXIV.48a (plate 63). A prince carrying an arrow and

- b. another with a bow in his hand. A monkey king with a club, two monkeys carrying stones. Rocks.
 - c. Five monkeys carrying stones to the seashore.

Laksmana, Rama and Sugrīva are following the monkeys, who are throwing the stones into the sea for constructing the dam.

XXIV.49d (plate 64). Fish in the sea, which swallow the stones.

e. Fish, a crab, naga with jewel on its head (632), duck etc.

Valmiki mentions nothing about the swallowing of the stones. R 142-143 speaks of the order given by Ravana to Ganga Mahasura to destroy the dam and he in turn passed this order to the fish. While this is being done, a crab carries out certain positive actions.

XXIV.50f (plate 65). Seashore with sea-gulls (633), snakes etc. Four monkeys with clubs, three of them also have fruits in their paws, the fourth leads on a rope a tame garanan (Herpestes).

g. Two princes, armed with bows and a

h. monkey king with a sword. Finally three happy looking monkeys with clubs and swords (634).

The end of the series of reliefs on the Siva temple: the crossing from the mainland to Lanka by Rama, Laksmana and Sugrīva and his army of monkeys.

Prof. Krom says: "This strange end of Rāmāyana reliefs on the main temple leaves one to suppose that the continuation must have taken place somewhere else and that this was actually the case, is proved by different loose reliefs, lying around, which depict battles with the army of monkeys and also Rāvana, who is immediately recognizable by his ten heads" (635).

The question as to which temple these fragments belonged to is, however, not possible to answer with any degree of certainty, because most of these are no more than loose stones.

Some reliefs have also been found which Van Stein Callenfels identified as episodes from the Kṛṣṇa legend. Some of these were found in the Viṣṇu temple itself and due to their contents they belonged very much there. But none have been found in the Brahman temple. It seemed natural to assume that the remainder of the Rāma story was presented in this temple. It was also thought that perhaps the Nandi temple, situated opposite the Siva temple, could have had the continuation of the story but after closer inspection it was thought not to be very probable that the reliefs could have been accommodated there. The fact that Viṣṇu and Brahman temples are of the same size, led greatly to the supposition.

Unfortunately from these fragments, very little can be identified with certainty. What can be identified, is nothing more than the fragment itself, i.e. there is no connection with the other stones. I shall, therefore, not talk of any stones which do not belong to the Rāma legend beyond all doubt.

It is not possible to give continuous numbering to the stones, as more has disappeared than what exists, hence the number of the photos are given instead.

1150, 1151 (plates 66, 67). Armed monkeys. To be judged from an edge, the whole relief appears to have been connected with 1151. Although the stones are badly damaged, a few things can be made out apart from the monkeys: bow, a small sword, a shield. A snake is crawling with raised head on the ground, while the monkeys on 1151, just as on relief XXIV.50, are leading an animal which can be identified perhaps with a tame garanan (Herpestes). Probably this relief depicted the further advance of monkeys after crossing over to Lanka.

Both stones are taken from the collection in Yogyakarta (193, 194) but they can be, doubtless, considered as having originated in Lara Jongran.

2316 (plate 68). The many-headed Ravana is sitting on a throne. In front of him, there is a big vessel with food. Apart from being many-headed, he is also many-armed, as we already know from the episode of abduction. Of course, it is very well possible that this stone came much later into the second series. But the lack of stones before and after make it impossible to determine its right place.

2288, 2312 (plates 69, 70). It seems to me to be probable that both these stones belong together.

- a. An ascetic with trisūla. A prince shooting an arrow and behind his back a hand with a sword.
- b. A crowned head (spiral crown). A prince shooting an arrow and a monkey king with a small, broad sword. Parts of damaged monkeys and a hand with a dagger. It is

Plates 69, 70 (contd.)

not impossible that we can see Rāma in the figure of the shooting prince on a, and in the figure with the spiral crown Lakşmana, and Sugrīva in the monkey king, especially if we compare this with relief XIX.41g. But who is then the ascetic? Vibhīṣana, who was always supporting Rāma with advice and help?

2315 (plate 71). A monkey. A rākṣasa, armed with a long and a small sword, in an attacking position. Clouds above which there is a rākṣasa, threatening with his forefinger. Beneath the clouds there are traces of a rākṣasa-head.

In this relief was somehow connected with the two previous stones and in a connecting series stone d was constituted by this relief, whereby the connecting stone c was lost, then perhaps the figure in the clouds could very well be Indrajit. The whole thing could then be Indrajit's attack on Rāma and his troops from the air, whereof Rāma was warned by Vibhīṣaṇa. Of course, certainty is not to be claimed about it, but perhaps something like this could justify this description. The numbers 2288 as well as 2315 show quite clearly that they are not quite complete in themselves, what is to be seen on the feet on 2288 and on the head of the rākṣasa on the left below on 2315 (638).

2337, 2307 (plates 72, 73). Both these stones could perhaps also have belonged together.

a. A prince shooting an arrow. The head of an ascetic, an arm with a bow and a leg.

b. An arm with a bow. An ascetic, who is raising up his right hand and at the same time making a threatening gesture with his left hand. A raksasa, who is holding a stone (?) on his head and is about to throw it down. Further a figure which has fallen down and two raksasas, one of whom is attacking with a sword. A threatening hand and two with spears(?).

It is absolutely impossible to identify anything certainly with these few remnants of a royal battle. All that one can say is: a battle with raksasas. But now we have three reliefs about which one can say something with greater definiteness.

2320a (plate 76). A horse rider. The horse has a halter with bells and trips over the legs of a sleeping giant. A man is thrusting a spear in his body.

b. A rākṣasa, who is holding a dagger-like object against the arm of the giant and with his right hand is going to strike this. A rākṣasa, who is holding a śańkha near the

Plate 76 (contd.)
ear of the giant, is blowing thereon. A rākṣasa with a sword and another standing near
an elephant.

The waking up of Kumbhakarna using all kind of methods, from which we see here the last and the most effective one (637).

2255 (plate 74). Kumbhakarna fighting the monkeys. The reason for identifying the remnants of the rākṣasa-figure in the middle with Kumbhakarna can be justified by the difference in his size with the monkeys. The giant is threatening with his right hand, while he is being threatened with a finger by one of the monkeys.

2309 (plate 75). The lamentation of Kumbhakarna. Four rākṣasas are throwing flowers on his dead body, which has been laid on a platform (639).

And finally another Ravana-scene.

2319a (plate 77). Two women, one of them of high rank (a queen). She is laying a flower garland over the feet.

b. of the dead Rāvaṇa, who is lying stretched out on a funeral pyre. There are blocks of wood beneath the platform. The whole pyre is decorated with flowers and three women are standing behind the dead body.

Mandodari, Rāvana's chief queen, is crying over her dead husband, while four cowives share her sorrow. It does not seem to me to be impossible to identify the fatal wounds in the middle of Rāvana's chest.

The funeral pyre is quite remarkable, especially as it can be somewhat compared to what one can see on a mural in Turfan (638). There the Buddha is lying in a coffin of blocks of gośirsa-candana wood (oxhead sandalwood). These blocks were laid in layers beneath the dead body and not heaped over the body as is normally done. What is also interesting to note is that the place of the chief queen is at the feet, who even during the life time of her husband had a task to fulfil: that of massaging his feet.

With this, the stock of stones has been exhausted, which can be treated with a degree of certainty as Rāma reliefs. In all probability, there is yet another relief which was a part of this series, and that is:

2306 (plate 78). On the right of an ascetic of high rank sits a prince, on the lest : monkey king. It is this figure which tells us that this stone belonged to the Rama series.

Plate 78 (contd.)

I do not think it improbable that this stone was connected on the right with the stone 2311 (plate 79), on which one can see an ascetic and a royal figure sitting behind it. Perhaps, but only perhaps, these stones represented the remnants of a series, which depicted apotheosis of the story: the return to Ayodhyā and the reverence paid to ascetics with Agastya as their leader. But all this is, of course, only supposition (641).

Of course, very important episodes are missing, which were certainly depicted. We see nothing of the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, the return to Ayodhyā in the chariot Puṣpaka is also missing, although it is depicted in Angkor Vat as well as in Ba Puon. Further the fire-ordeal which is also to be found there, is missing here. Of course, we have numerous loose stones, on which royal personages are depicted, who could possibly be Rāma and Sītā, but since other characteristics are missing, we nave to pass over them in silence (640, plates 80-87).

So now, nothing else remains, but to see whether we can determine which version was perhaps used here.

The deviations from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa are, as we have already seen; numerous, while considering this version as the basic one. Thus we find the reduplication of Tāṭakā and Virādha(1); the ring which Sītā gave to Jaṭāyu (2); the handing over of the ring through Jaṭāyu to Rāma (3); the fact that Rāvaṇa was carried by a flying demon after the abduction (4); the second head of Kabandha (5); the confusion of the Śabari episode with that of Kālanemi (6); the different version of the meeting between Rāma and Hanumat (7); the same with Sugrīva (8); latter's apron of leaves (9); the fact that on the seashore Rāma does not shoot an arrow (10); the swallowing of the particular stones by the fish during the dam-construction (11); and perhaps the consecration of Bharata (12); and the occurrence of a daughter of Dasaratha (13).

The deviations to be found in the loose fragments of the Brahman temple cannot be considered, as they are firstly isolated and secondly put in their proper context could take on a different meaning.

I have already pointed out that several of these deviations can be explained by seeing what the Malayan hikayats have to tell us about the Rāma legends, namely nos. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and in a certain sense also 6. It would have been so nice for us, if we could have gained some knowledge about these deviations from a totally different group, the Kakavin, but we have been disappointed there and we have before us the remarkable fact that this work which was in certain respects contemporaneous, leaves us in the lurch. The episode with the request to the gods is missing. One searches here the episode about the punishment of the crow in vain. There is no mention of the handing over of the ring.

The meeting with Sabarī is very different, as also the meetings with Hanumat and Sugrīva. The mark of recognition of Sugrīva is a necklace of leaves. In the Kakávin, we find that the bow is often used and Baruna sits on his simhāsana, etc.

It is clear: the Rāma reliefs of Lara Jongran only have a distant relationship to the Kakavin, and on the contrary have more connection on many points with the Sumatran narratives (the Malayan hikayats). Unfortunately we have very recent versions of these, almost seven hundred years later than the temple.

What consequences this has for us, may become clear in the course of the study (694).

VIII. THE RAMA RELIEFS OF PANATARAN

This complex is as different from the temple Candi Lara Jongran, both in its total layout as a temple complex as well as in the style of its reliefs as the difference in distance between the two temples.

The only thing which binds them is the representation of the same themes in their reliefs, namely the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends. As I am concerned, for the time being, only with the contents of the legends depicted there, the difference in style will be dealt with later. I shall restrict my remarks totally to the contents and to their arrangement. To begin with I would like to point to the fact that in contrast to Lara Jongran, in Panataran both these legends are to be found one above the other on the same temple, whereas in Lara Jongran they are divided up among the three main temples. But here, in the East Javanese temple complex of Panataran, there were no three or more main temples and actually they could never have been a part of the original plan. What was spread over so many temples and smaller temples in Lara Jongran is concentrated here in the region of Blitar in one big temple. The other monuments are of a totally different character.

When I use the word temple complex, for Lara Jongran as well as for Panataran, it has a different meaning in each case. In Central Java the word temple complex points to primary and secondary arrangement of the different monuments, according to the rank of their presiding dieties, but in East Java according to the importance of the monument. In Central Java, the unity of the temple complex rests on ideal relationships, but in East Java according to practical considerations. In Central Java, the word "temple complex" is an expression for a systematic overall plan, in which each monument holds a definite place in the ideal system from the very beginning. In East Java, however, it is nothing more than a collective word for monuments, which belong together due to the practical reasons of cult.

"... the most remarkable ruins in Këdiri is Candi Panataran in the district of Blitar on the south-western foot of the mountain Këlut" (642). Situated on a long rectangular terrain, it is surrounded by a circular wall, the entrance to which faces west. There

existed a monument in the easternmost part of the three divisions, into which the whole area was divided, a temple building, which in the course of time must have lost some of its stones and from which now only three terraces have remained. How large the loss of the actual temple and even more of the statues was, which were to be found in the temple, can to some extent be gauged from the series of reliefs, which are to be found on the other side of the terraces. The second terrace has the depiction of the Kṛṣṇa legend. The first and the one below depicts the history of Hanumat's campaign to Lanka and a part of the battles upto the death of Kumbhakarṇa.

In the very close vicinity of the main temple, some foundations of other monuments were also found after excavations. All of them were situated in the eastern part of the temple-terrain. Even the central part of the three divisions contained some buildings, for instance, the socalled treasury could almost be completely restored. In the last part, or perhaps more correctly in the first part, because one enters this part before the others, one finds remnants of buildings and foundations, on which at one time complete monuments were situated, either of wood or of stone and among them the most important was the temple, which had a year engraved on it (643). Luckily many more years were found: on the main temple we find the years 1241, 1242, 1245 of the Saka era (1319 to 1323 A.D.). These dates take us to the time of the second ruler of Majapahit, Jayanagara. But one has found even more, for instance, the date of the Saka era 1269 = 1347 A.D., and this takes us into a later period: the period of the rule of the successors of King Jayanagara, the queen-regent Tribhuvana, who carried on the government for her mother, as well as her son, Hayam Vuruk, who had taken the official name Rajasanagara, and under his rule the history of Majapahit was brought to its climax. The last date was more important than the earlier ones, as they are to be found on the base platforms of the four raksasa templeguards, which are to be found on both sides of steps leading up. This base platform is, together with the foundations of the temple, one whole. Hence we can assume that the putting up of the raksasa-guards was made at the same time as the actual construction of the temple. It is thus certain that the actual main temple originated in the time of Tribhuvanā, although the construction could naturally have already begun during the rule of her predecessor Jayanagara. What is remarkable for the temple complex is the very long period of construction which covers the period from 1319-1454, while the actual sanctum must have been much older, as a written record talks about it in 1197. One should not imagine that these dates show that the history of the construction took place without any interruption. On the contrary one can assume that the temple complex enjoyed greater importance during this period through the promoters of the construction of the temples and these were mainly the rulers.

But our particular interest is not concerned so much with the building, but much more with the reliefs engraved on its first terrace. So it will be sufficient to state that the

temple dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, in other words from the time of the regency. If we accept that the dates of the rākṣasas also signify and signalize the completion of the main temple then we can even give a more exact year: 1347, as the decoration of carvings show the latest resemblances to the reliefs of the first terrace. The style with which we are now concerned, is hence four hundred years younger than that of Lara Jongran.

A question, which might appear to be superfluous to some but is actually not so, has to be put: what is Candi Panataran? A large number of the East Javanese temples had, in due course of time, been taken as burial-temples. These are the temples in which the king in some divine form or the other is worshipped after his death. The worship had the purpose to make certain protection by the king also after the period during which he actually ruled the land. Such burial-temples are known for several kings. In my opinion Panataran in no way belongs to them.

I have three reasons in favour of my view. Firstly, the fact that in the temple or better in the temple complex, constructions were constantly added, which did not take place in this measure on other burial temples. These were normally put up once and at the most some decorations or renovations were carried out.

Secondly my supposition is supported by the similarity of the division and other details with the puras of Bali which are also not burial-temples. Finally, if it had been such then most certainly Prapanca, the poet of the royal chronicle Nagarakṛtāgama, would have mentioned the names of the dead kings when king Hayam Vuruk visited the place (649). We thus again come back to the question as to what Caṇḍi Panataran actually was.

Krom says: "The temple of Palah was constructed in its entirety to Siva, the divine Lord of the Mountains" (644). This Palah is later known as Panataran and we could perhaps see the most important reason for the existence of the candi in the worship of Siva and also the care which was lavished upon it. In fact our dates of the years engraved, which correspond to the rise and efflorescence of Majapahit empire, in other words with the rule of no less than five kings (645) are a proof for the supposition that Panataran was a state temple. In the Nāgarakṛtāgama, it is said that Hayam Vuruk went to Palah (Panataran) in all humility and worshipped the feet of the divine Lord of the Mountains and this is reported not just once (646). But this temple worship by the most powerful king highly enhances the importance of the temple. Especially if we compare it with the simpler worship which he offers to the dead kings. If we also keep in mind that it is the largest temple complex in East Java and after Barabudur in the whole of Java, then I do not think

the supposition too daring to consider Panataran as a Sivaite state temple.

Let us now turn to the reliefs (681). As has already been mentioned, Hanumat's campaign to Lanka and a part of the battle, is represented on small reliefs on the lowest, first terrace.

The reliefs alternate with squares, in which medallions with anin. als have been fitted. As Brandes has shown, the reliefs begin only on the outermost part of the right side of the architectural structure of the temple facade (647).

Brandes has saved me most of the work through his excellent monograph on the Rāma reliefs (648).

If I now treat this series of reliefs, even if in a less detailed manner than the reliefs of Lara Jongran, then the reason for that is that I get some material from it for my stylistic investigation.

I (plate 105). Hanumat with the hand posture 'fica' (650). His hairdo is the gelun centun, his sacred thread (upavita) consists of snakes. He has come into Ravana's palace and is looking towards

(plate 106). Ravana, who is amusing himself with two of his wives. The king is depicted with one head and has a makuta, in other words in this case he does not have a decorated hairdo, but a crown. A son is depicted behind him, which is partly covered by a cloud in the form of a buta. (I shall talk later about three clouds in the form of buta and animal-figures so that I do not have to constantly refer to them in my descriptions). A servant carries a betel box.

(plate 107). A kehen (treasury) points to the fact that we are now in the kraton (palace) of Ravana. The relief in fact gives us a beautiful example of a building with the lower part of stones and a meru roof of reeds (651).

II (plate 108). Under a tree, on which Hanumat is sitting, after having taken on a small form, stands a guard armed with a sword. With the other hand, he is putting something into his mouth (652). Thus we are in the Asoka grove, to which Hanumat finally went after he did not find Sītā anywhere else.

(Plate 109). Rāvaṇa has come into the same grove with a view to cheer up Sītā, to try and to convince to give herself up to him. Sītā has just rejected his offer, whereby Rāvaṇa becomes angry and threatens her with the left hand (653). Two kneel on the ground, in front of and behind him. One of them has a betel box and the other is looking up in fear to his lord and master, who is armed with a sword.

Plate 110

Sità turns her face away from the hated king, while she is sitting on a stone terrace. She has already opened up her knot of hair and through this gives proof of her sorrow. Behind her stands Trijața, Vibhīṣaṇa's daughter, her companion and guard. Perhaps we must see the confirmation of Rāvaṇa's threat in her attitude.

III (plate 111). After Rāvaṇa has left, Hanumat climbs down from the tree and makes himself known to Sitā, after he has again assumed his normal shape (655). Sītā, who is still sitting at the same place, holding something in her hand, which can be Rāma's ring, that Hanuman has brought with him as a mark of recognition (654). In this scene too we find Trijaṭā.

IV (plate 112). In a pendapa decorated with ornaments in the form of a spiral, Sita is sitting and receiving something from Trijata. The roof the pendapa consists of a three-storeyed meru, which is covered with wooden blocks. The complete pendapa is standing on a platform (666).

Plate 113. A naked buta, with a bone in his right hand, is running away, most probably to report the arrival of Hanumat.

Plate 114. Separation between the scenes: rocks.

V (plate 115). Hanumat will have his first combat with the butas, who have been warned and he is standing in all readiness of things, which are now going to take place.

Plate 116. The guards hurry to the scene and threaten Hanumat.

Plate 117. A female buta looks on.

VI (plate 118). The fight is about to begin. A buta, with his right hand in fica for safety, is looking on

Plate 119. how Hanumat has flown up in the air and is threatening a big buta, who is armed with an axe-like weapon (656). A smaller buta is rushing through the air, similarly armed, and a third is standing in readiness on the ground.

VII (plates 120, 121). The big but ais locked up in combat with Hanumat. Right and left: small but as rush down or attack. The fight takes place to a high degree of magic, as can be gauged from the hand positions of the fighters.

VIII (plates 122, 123). The big but has been defeated and is lying breathing his last, a second is already dead. A smaller but has been hurled down by Hanumat's powertule ful magic. Branches of the trees have been broken off in the battle.

(Plate 124). A fourth buta is fleeing past a beautiful candi, looking back on the terrible fight, going on behind him.

IX (plate 125). He rushes through Ravana's garden and

X (plate 126). reports to the king about the attack Behind Ravana sits

(Plate 127) a big butapatih, perhaps Prahasta.

XI (plates 128, 129). A division of butas, under the command of a big buta-captain marches against Hanumat. The commander sticks out his tongue (as a magical act), threatens with his left hand and is about to throw a short spear. Behind him three other butas are coming, one of whom has a paraśu (axe), two others have each a straight and a bent sword. All of them have the "manofica" position. This hostility is pointed towards

(Plate 130). Hanumat, who is standing near a small candi above a gate, both his hands in the fica position. In the door-frame stands a small buta and raises an alarm by striking a drum.

XII (plate 131). Hanumat makes short shift of his attacks, he uproots a tree and rushes with it against his enemies.

XIII (plate 132). New troops come to help. A larger buta is followed by others, including flag-holders. Brandes is of the opinion that the word dvaja (flag) can be conveniently read on his flag. A big buta is carrying a staff, both sides of which are crowned by vajras.

XIV (plate 133). But do not worry: Hanumat strikes down two butas and a whole elephant, threatens

(Plate 134). two others, who have taken to flight and

(Plate 135). finally he leaves behind a heap of bodies and dying demons (from the mouth of one of them blood is pouring out on the battle-field, 658), among them even a horse can be seen (657).

XV (plate 136). In the further course of battle, Hanumat catches hold of a buta with his hand and toes, by his hair, his hips and on the ankles, and hits him with the palm of his hand. A second buta turns away to flee to the right.

(Plate 137). A buta commander with a spear-holder and another smaller buta rush to help.

XVI (plate 138). A naked buta is fleeing. Another, perhaps the same as on plates 124, 125, 126, is running away to report to Ravana.

XVII (plate 139). He arrives in the palace and kneels in front of

(Plate 140). Rāvaṇa's throne, on which the king is sitting accompanied by his faithful panakawans (courtiers). The foremost of the two deformed butas is pulling out hairs from his chin with tweezers (catut), the second one allows his mouth to be licked up by a doggie (659).

XVIII (plate 141). As a result of this report, a very big but a marches against Hanumat armed with a sword, which was forged according to the technique of the pamor forge. In front of him goes

(Plate 142). a totally naked but with very large genitals. He is carrying a kind of bag over his shoulder. Below, a demon who wants to go into the battle and is already holding up his dagger, tears himself away from the embraces of his buta-wife with hanging breasts. He has something around his left wrist, which I cannot identify.

(Plate 143). Another less big commander as the one on plate 141 also marches out with them. He carries a club.

(Plate 144). In front of these persons of high rank, several smaller butas are rushing away. One of them is beating a drum, others have got curved knives and bones as weapons.

XIX (plates 145, 146). The giant on plate 141(?) has already been thrown down to the ground by Hanumat and his retinue consists of a beautiful heap of dead bodies and dying giants.

(Plate 147). A survivor is fleeing away to report on the bloodbath.

(Plate 148). A pair of lovers below in a corner of the relief.

(Plate 149). Another buta is looking at either the messengers or the couple, but I cannot explain its meaning with certainty.

XX (plate 150). Hanumat has found a worthy opponent and he is attacked by his opponent's arrow.

(Plate 151). It is Rāvaṇa's son, Akṣa, whose arm is now broken off by Hanumat (left below one can see the arm lying). Above Akṣa, in the air the stag-bow, a symbol of supernatural heroism (683). In front of Akṣa, a buta is looking on in horror, holding a quiver full of arrows. It appears as if Akṣa is holding a bent spear in his remaining arm (660).

XXI (plate 152). Due to one reason or the other Hanumat has to take a bath, wherefor he flies into the air.

XXII (plate 153). Near the shore of a sea, he takes his bath. We can identify fish in the water, among them a shark and a sword-fish, which he keeps away from himself by magic gestures (661).

XXIII (plate 154). He then flies again into the air and rushes back to the battlefield, which he had left a short while ago (662).

XXIV (plates 155, 156). After having returned to Ravana's garden, he starts to destroy everything there (664). A small monkey in the tree does not seem to be too terrified. But others are: the scaled animals (trengilin) and the porcupines (landak) on plate 155, a musk-deer (kañcil, Moschus moschiferus) and the birds on both reliefs (663).

XXV (plates 157, 158). Hanuman is sitting down near the heap of bodies (among them a dead lion 665, who has been lying there from the previous battle) and is waiting for what is to come next.

XXVI (plate 159). Very soon a very powerful enemy makes his appearance: Indrajit the son of Rāvaṇa (667). He is riding a horse with snake heads (668), carrying a snake-arrow in his bow, followed by a well-armed fighter to the field and accompanied by naked butas, who are throwing stones.

(Plate 160). In front, butas with swords and gong-sticks are rushing. Indrajit had already shot an arrow into the thigh of Hanumat who is standing in a tree. Hanumat is threatening the attacker.

XXVII (plate 161). The monkey has fallen down, bound by the snake-arrow of Indrajit. A big but ais trying to stab him in the face, a small one is throwing a stone at him and two other but as are standing nearby armed with bedog.

XXVIII (plate 162). In a big procession, the monkey is now being taken to Ravana. Indrajit accompanies the multitude (he can be recognized by the hairdo of a prince, which has the form of a half-moon: gĕlun cĕntun).

XXIX (plate 163). Indrajit hands over his captive to Ravaņa with a sembah. Both panakawans look curiously at the monster who has caused so much damage. Ravaņa threatens Hanumat.

(Plate 164). Behind the king sits his patih (minister 669), as well as the doggie held by a buta.

XXX (plates 165, 166). After Rāvaṇa has given the well known order, the tail of the monkey is tied up with cloth, soaked in oil and set alight. But no one could expect that as a result he would be able to loosen himself from the grip of the nāga-arrow, and that he would be able to break it into pieces. The buta, who on plate 161 had openly threatened the captured monkey, now runs away in fear. Indrajit is looking on amazed (165) and

(Plate 167). Rāvaņa pulls out his sword in a hurry.

XXXI (plates 168, 169). But it is already too late. The monkey has already set the palace building on fire (672) with his burning tail, women in semi-clothing are fleeing out of the palace (670). Hanumat sets alight a second building, which is also emptied in the same hurried manner so that

(Plate 170). the king with his retinue and his courtiers has to flee past the water palace (671) where numerous fountains are playing and ducks are swimming.

XXXII (plate 171). Now Hanumat cannot stay any longer in Lanka, and therefore he flies again into the air to start his return journey. He flies over the desas (countryside) and the top of trees on the way.

XXXIII (plate 172). But before that he goes once more to Sītā to report to her about all that has happened and to convince himself of her well-being. Here again Trijaṭā is present during the conversation.

XXXIV (plate 173). After that Hanumat leaves Lanka and flies over the sea. Indrajit's first arrow is still sticking in his thigh.

XXXV (plate 174). On his return to the mainland, he is received by the patih (minister) Jambavat and two monkey-princes, who are the first to hear the happy news of Sītā's well-being (673).

XXXVI (plates 175, 176). He now comes to Rāma, and after kneeling down and with a sembah (añjali) reports all that has happened (674). Behind Rāma, recognizable by his hairdo, the garuda munkur (behind the knot of hair a garuda-head can be seen), stands Lakṣmaṇa (gelun centun), then Sugrīva (also with the garuda munkur, as he is also a ruler) and two monkey-princes, the foremost of whom must be Angada. There are monkey-servants on this end, and on the following relief, and one of whom carries a betel-box (176).

XXXVII (plates 177-181). In an orderly procession they march on to the seashore: in front Rama and Laksmana (181), then monkeys with provisions (180), further Sugriva, Hanumat (179), Angada (178), a monkey-prince and a monkey-king with a very peculiar hairdo.

XXXVIII (plates 182, 183). The monkeys carry stones on their shoulders, roll them on with tree trunks, carry them with the help of pikulan (load-carrying bamboo structures) in order to construct a dam across the sea. Sugriva and Hanumat are standing on the extreme end of the dam, which is already finished and throw huge blocks of stones into the sea.

XXXIX (plates 184-189). The other shore has been reached and they march further in the same order with the sole difference that one has to take precautionary measures, being in enemy country.

At the tip is marching the monkey-king, followed by a servant carrying a payun (umbrella), the side is protected by a flank-patrol, who is enjoying mango-fruits (189). After that monkeys follow with flags and pennants, gongs, quivers etc. Among the flags there is a cakra and sankha (sun-wheel and conch-shell).

XL (plates 190-193). The whole company is sitting down to a big feast. All kinds of delicious dishes have been prepared. Rāma sets a good example and eats a fish (193). Near him there is a monkey servant with betel-boxes and paidon (spittoon). The foremost one is cracking coconuts. The monkey kings and princes look on humbly and wait till Rāma has had his fill. Only the one farthest to the back seems to be carrying something to his mouth, but this does not have to be something to be eaten or to be drunk. The small monkey on plate 192 has a smaller chest bag, as we saw on the Lara Jongran reliefs.

XLI (plates 194, 195). The high command has sent a division of monkeys against the enemy. The company is heavily armed.

XLII (plates 196-198). In the meantime long discussions and consultations are going on in the camp of the enemy. Rāvana is sitting on his throne, accompanied by three panakawans. One of them is again tearing out his hair. Patihs (ministers) and hulubalans (commanders) etc. are sitting behind him (197, 196). In front of the king the leader of a division of terrible buta is kneeling with hands in sembah. All of them are armed to the teeth. In all probability the order for marching against the enemy has been given.

XLIII (plates 199-201). The order is carried out immediately. The butas march in rank and file against the enemy. Some of them have a typical form of the nose, which in wayang is a sign for an evil opposing group. Unfortunately the face of Rāma or Laksmaņa has been purposely damaged, so that it is not possible for me to determine whether they have been given the proper profile of nobility. The traces point in that direction.

XLIV (plates 202-207). The terrible battle begins. The lower ranks of the monkeys and the butas fight each other (202, 203). In the meanwhile, a monkey king pulls at the hair (204) of a buta-king. Both monkey princes and Hanumat (he is recognizable on plate 206 because of his snake thread, naga vansul) start a fight with any buta of high rank. Hanumat fights with vajra-stick, the others with long and short swords. A terrible bloodbath takes place around them.

XLV (plates 208-210). Laksmana (gelun centun) shoots an arrow at the largest of all the butas, Kumbhakarna, who is swallowing monkeys: ten at a time. Hanumat with his vajra-stick (recognizable by his snake-upavita) and monkey king help Laksmana. On the other side Kumbhakarna is attacked by Angada (?), who is sitting on a commander of the monkeys, in order to be able to reach upto Kumbhakarna (210).

With this the series of the reliefs of Panataran comes to an end (675).

In the remarks which we have already made while describing the reliefs in short, we have seen that the story on which they are based conforms pretty exactly with that of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin (676). I would like to remark further that the depiction shows several peculiar deviations from the Rāma legends which I have taken as belonging to the other group, namely the Malayan hikayats. For instance there is no mention of the reconnoitering of Hanumat in Rāvaṇa's palace, before he meets Sītā. In the same way we do not read anything about Rāvaṇa visiting Sītā, which we see clearly here in scene II. The long and difficult battle which hikayat carries on the reliefs goes in conformity with what the Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin reports but not with what one can read in the hikayats. In the latter, for instance, there is no mention of the episode of Rāvaṇa's son Akṣa. Further the following are not mentioned in the hikayats: bath in the sea, the arrow stuck in Hanumat's thigh (677), his return to Sītā.

There is no doubt at all that the reliefs of Panataran present the Rāma legend according to the same version as the Rāmāyana Kakavin in the form of an epic poem (678). In this connection, the fact becomes slightly clearer that the Sërat Kanda mentions the story of Sërat Rama just before this episode. It is possible that the depiction of this legend on

East Javanese series of reliefs added to the popularity of this version.

It is a peculiar fact that while explaining some of the reliefs of Lara Jongran series, I had to refer to some very recent Sumatran (Malayan) facts, whereas in the case of the Panataran series I had to go back to the oldest version in its oldest form of the Rāma legends which we find in the archipelago namely the Rāmāyana Kakavin, a work which chronologically is much closer to the time of Lara Jongran than Panataran.

But while discussing the stylistic differences of both series of reliefs, this will become less surprising (693).

IX. STYLISTIC COMPARISON

What is immediately discernible at first sight, while looking at the Rāma reliefs of both the temples, is the tremendous difference in style, which can perhaps best be compared with the difference between a late Gothic relief and a wooden sculpture from Iceland.

On the one hand, there is a naturalism which has some traces of idealism, and on the other a depiction which is as if a part and parcel of old Nordic and old Celtic mythology.

This difference has already been dealt with earlier. Brandes wrote about it and said: "the different depictions do not only point to a different artist or to a different school of sculpture, but there are two very different periods of art, even though they appear to be genealogically related to each other" (679).

In actual fact if one puts the two depictions of the same Rāma story side by side, one from Lara Jongran and the other from Panataran, then they are both so totally different, that one is almost tempted to doubt whether there is any genealogical relationship at all. We have here a surprising fact that both styles are found on the same island Java with a distance between them, not so great that this fact by itself could explain the difference in style. In spite of this the connection between the temples is certain and it is presumed that both are linked in the chain of the same Hindu-Javanese art (680).

Now what could be the reason for this tremendous difference in both the styles? If we look at the reliefs of Candi Panataran a little more closely, it is immediately apparent that while on the one hand the depictions are very much different yet on the other a marked stylization can also be discerned. The small monkey in the tree on plate 156 is a minor masterpiece in the depiction of animals which is perhaps not to be found anywhere else on Java. The beautifully carved out animal which is not longer than 10 cm, must have been known by some one who knew exactly what a monkey looks like and how to depict it in stone. The beetles, who are flying towards the same tree, having been startled by the fight being carried out by Hanumat, have been depicted and carved in the minutest detail. Not even in a single case are the divisions on the back missing. The kancil (musk deer) on the preceding relief also betrays a capacity of depicting living nature, which takes out the typical movements from several thousands made by such an animal. The flight from the palace on 168 is a scene of existing confusion and the natural depiction of panic,

which is caused by the sudden outbreak of fire in an oriental city so easily combustible (682). But on the same relief, in which our small monkey is sitting in the tree, we find a curly figure, a kind of spiral, for which there is no model in nature or in the world. If we, however, look at the representation on another relief, then we can see how the same spiral (plate 156) can represent figures through repetition and connection, and that these forms can be in the form of butas (rākṣaṣas), but also lions, elephants, sculls, dwarfs and many other things. At other places a group of them can represent an ornament, a mythical tree, a rainbow-like figure, or a kala head. Finally we find these curves and spirals on the ground, on the rocks, indeed everywhere. These figures put together through spirals are the major reason of the totally different aspect, which can be made out in the reliefs of Panataran in comparison to those of Lara Jongran. Of course, besides these there are other differences, which will be mentioned later on but these will be explained indirectly from conformations in Central Java, whereas the putting together of figures out of living spirals are not found anywhere in Lara Jongran.

Brandes called these figures, as far as they were floating in the air, representation of clouds and was of the opinion that this method of drawing originated in impressionism. To give the complete picture I now cite that passage in its totality where he discusses his opinion: "the artist has chosen here for the filling up of empty places, groups of clouds, as they can be seen in the evening hours and as everyone knows them. One can make out lions, monkeys, snakes, elephants, goats and many more which do not fly through the air and which approach one, sometimes in profile, some times with the face half turned away and sometimes from the group, the same pictures, all are impressionistic and are only clearly drawn here and there with the bare minimum of lines but on the whole they have full round forms and volutes. We find them enlarged, sometimes wonderful, grotesque, and then again in smaller sizes. We find them fully drawn, clear and deep, and then again just a few lines as if they are pieces or fragments of flowers, arabesques and part of an ornament. After describing such a figure Brandes continued: "And all that has been read into it, is nothing else actually than a heavy, full large flaky cloud and nothing more is also meant to be depicted" (684).

At another place, the same author says: "But at the same time it is possible that the artist wanted to depict in the representation of clouds the slow formation and transformation of cloud forms, in other words, the mobile quality of clouds" (685). In actual fact, we have started becoming conscious of these strange figures, then suddenly we see monsters,

appearing from all sides and then sometimes disappearing again. We thus notice that on plate 171 a large but ais flying in front of Hanumat. He is differentiated from the actual but as, who are depicted on these reliefs as the subjects of Rāvaṇa. Through the curly lines in which he is depicted then one sees diagonally below it a second but a. Once one has discovered these figures, then they come up everywhere and not only as but as. But let us now look at the question: what are they actually? Are they actually cloud pictures, in the way Brandes saw them, as a subjective manifestation of an artist's mind.

To this, my answer is in the negative. One cannot talk here of impressionism. Krom, who took over Brandes' words completely in the first edition of his "Inleiding", in the second edition he partly rescinds his view and says: "Impressionism -- I stick to this word of Brandes, but I use it with a certain amount of reserve because it is something very different from our European impressionism and most certainly the mental attitude of the Indonesians plays a role, as for them nature which surrounds them, was felt as actually living and thus expresses itself above all" etc. (686). I regret it to a certain extent that this word has remained, as it seems to me to be misleading. What is most important is to try to "understand" the concept of art of Java, and also to teach the Javanese to understand this, whether it be for their or for our use. Of course, it is extremely recommendable to make it easier for us to understand by bringing in equivalents and parallels from our own environment, as this very often expresses much more than the mere heaping up of facts can. But the greatest danger, which one faces in framing such a method, is the use of wrong parallels, the comparison of things and objects, which are so different, that they cannot actually be compared at all. In such a case one is much farther from the truth than when one lists the facts, which do not say very much but which also do not say anything wrong.

It is clear from Brandes' words, what he meant by the word impressionism. The words: "that the lines are clear only here and there, with the bare minimum of lines but for the rest in full and round forms" betray that he had in front of him a picture of the impressionist school of painting, which had become very popular at his time.

But Brandes did not perhaps know that with this painting had entered a very individual stage, namely that of the most individual expression of the most individual emotion. Such an individual impression may fit in the context of his times but in no way in that of the an individual impression may fit in the context of his times but in no way in that of the Hindu-Javanese Panataran. Clearly Brandes has not quite understood the impressionistic way of working and hence he has taken it out of context. Because near to this apparent impressionism, we find in Panataran a naturalism, which I have already emphasised. And impressionism, we find in Panataran a naturalism, which I have already emphasised. And in direct contact with this naturalism we find a schematic way of working, which is manifested in the figure of the heroes through the depictions of their different types (687). But then what is it supposed to be?

Let us now look at the reliefs a little more closely.

I have already pointed out earlier, that in Panataran several things are represented in a manner which is more Javanese in nature, that means modern Javanese in nature, than in Lara Jongran. For instance the gesture of the hands in a threatening pose is depicted with two fingers, whereas on the Central Javanese reliefs only one finger is used. Further we have no problems regarding animals and plants, which are not found on Java. The swords and knives, used in fighting, show a greater similarity with Indonesian magical weapons than with the swords of the Hindus. But above all, the hairdo is so similar to that of the present-day wayang that it is to be connected with that and not with anything in the temple of Lara Jongran. If we, therefore, take our point of departure from these external characteristics, we enter a world which is closer to the Javanese and much further from the Hindus, from the reliefs of Central Java. In short, we must take into consideration a world which exists in a more primitive state, the word primitive being used in its ethnological meaning. Here art plays, as is well known, a profound role in men's lives because it gives them necessary help in the great fight, which primitive peoples have to wage for their very existence because the world is full of visible and even more so full of invisible dangers. It is not enough that day and night, everywhere and at all times, ghosts, spirits and other controllable elements threaten the existence of man and can be turned away from carrying out their threats only through tremendous efforts and continuous vigil but one is also constantly in danger that the other inhabitants of this vale of tears may try to bring about injury or even death with the help of magic arts and powers. The magical element, which plays such an important role in the lives of primitive peoples, naturally expresses itself in their art, as the researches of Preuss have convincingly shown (689). It was well known even earlier, that art'could be used in the fight against such dangers mentioned above, that the primitive man has at his disposal a big arsenal of mechanical means for instance painting, wood carving, sculpture etc. in order to placate as well as to put aside such dangers. It became evident now that even magic had its way of depiction. The Mexican codices

contained in their drawings several magical symbols, which made it clear to those who understood them that here, it was not merely normal mortals who were described, but magically powerful preachers, heroes and gods, in other words magical powers of all kinds. We find in the archipelago constantly proofs of such an attitude towards the spiritual as well as of such an art as long as it was not under Hindu influence. Many small decorations on arrows, bows, boats, houses and while tattooing go back to a very practical purpose that they fulfilled, whether it was the taming of the enemy before the actual battle, whether it was for the negation of his strength through insults, or whether it was for the placation of the animals, or other similar purposes. Everyone knows examples of this.

But even there, where Hindu influence had its effect, we believe that the arrow or the spear, which we see on plate 200 and which has in place of the tip a sickle-like half-moon, was extremely effective in actual battle (688). Also it is perhaps quite clear that the hand postures in Panataran, almost all of them have the purpose of conjuring up magical influences and hence they are mostly phallic in nature. In any case they definitely mean more than just a "clenched fist". which Brandes saw in it.

We find such a "phallism" in many East Javanese temples and is another extensive example of the reflection of such a world view, in which magic plays a big role. The display of genitals, as is well known, has a great power of pushing back all kinds of ghosts and spirits. Therefore it is not surprising if we find at various places in the Candis Suravana and Tigavani, so-called figures of rākṣasas, having excessively large genitals, depicted in such a way that they cannot be missed (plate 221). Many people have regarded this as an example of degeneration and as a perverse pleasure in depicting obscenity but in reality what is meant here is that their magical power is used for a practical purpose (690).

Such holes in the Hinduistic clothes can be found further as well, from which the primitive attitude towards spirit peeps out.

It is less evident where a certain fear of an open space plays a role. I cannot adduce any more telling example for this than the famous Ganesa of Bara (plates 222, 223). It is a piece from the period of Sinhasari, dated in the year 1239. On the back side of the sculpture, which in normal cases is always flat and empty, there is a huge kalahead which seems to fill the whole place around him because the sculpture is completely open from this side to evil influences, whereas on the front side it is reasonably secure through the figure of the god. The sculptor could not have put a better protector on the

back side, which would have otherwise remained bare than just this kala-head, which is sticking out its tongue in such an ostentatious manner. This gesture has a purpose of pushing away evil in the same way as the exhibition of the genitals. In the same way the back side of the rakṣasa-guards at Panataran, have been covered with reliefs which did not only have the purpose of filling empty space (plates 224, 225). And at those places where the sculptor could not use the necessary material in the form of persons, trees, houses etc. due to one reason or the other, he did not shy away from filling up the complete background with miraculous figures, which Brandes has called cloud depictions, when on plate 152, Hanumat flies through the air and remains floating in the air for a long time, then the space around him is generously covered with spiral figures. But even elsewhere sometimes the smallest corners and holes are covered with them. And in this Panataran is not alone. Most of the later temple-reliefs have such depictions, which people perceive in the sphere of the whole.

Together with this fear of space, in other words of empty space, there is also a fear of depth, in other words of the depiction of the third dimension.

The primitive human looked at things mostly from the front, so that he could take in the whole picture, the complete representation at a glance. The existence of different impressions altogether makes it possible for him to arm himself against all possible dangers from depictions (691). The successive impressions, which lead to the introduction of a third dimension are too problematic for him. The constant change of view, which such representation makes necessary, gives him so many impressions that the picture of the whole becomes inapproachable to him. Worringer says: "The third dimension, that is the dimension of depth, depicts the actual body condition of the object. It is this which contradicts the complete and unified understanding and perception of the object" (692). The result of such a view, if we can call it so, is making a relief flat, a depiction in only two dimensions, a flat relief, that can be explained as the fear of the primitive man of the third dimension.

If we now again take a look at the reliefs of East Java, we immediately notice this flatness and this frontality. If however we go to Central Java then we come across exactly the opposite and even in the reliefs of Jalatunda, just after the Central Javanese period, there is little to be seen of such flatness.

Do we need any further detailed proof to convince us that what we see on the surface can best be described as a primitive attitude of spirit-worship? A spirit-worship, of which we do not find any traces in the reliefs of Lara Jongran? We have thus come a little closer

to the correct appraisal of the style of the East Javanese reliefs and we can now look at the clouds a little more closely without being in danger of comparing very different things with each other.

In the Rāmāyana Kakavin 2.33, we read how the rākṣasas, evil spirits, attacking Rāma have been compared with clouds: kadi ta megha sĕdĕn gumantun/ danstrākarāla ya sihunnya kilatpadanya// "like suspended clouds. They had protruding fangs and these fangs were like the rays of lightning". (The comparison does not appear to me to refer to the position of the rākṣasas in the air, but certainly to their whole figures, as is evident from the comparison of the fangs with lightning.)

Wilkinson writes in his book "Malay Beliefs" that the Malayans believe "clouds of extraordinary dimensions and colours are spirits" (695). Wilkens reports further that the Bataks believe that the souls of the dead sometimes turn into white clouds and Schultze mentions among the recurring form of the soul also clouds (696). Naturally this belief is not restricted only to the archipelago, as even in our countries spirits and ghosts are thought of in the form of mist and fog. Crooke narrates, that even in India the rākṣasas are looked upon as clouds and he says about Rāvaṇa: "His form was that of a thick cloud etc." (697). This conclusion is evident in Panataran, where the spirits are depicted in the form of a cloud or perhaps better in a cloud-like form. In such a case exactly the opposite took place as Brandes assumed. The artist did not carve clouds which came together to represent all kinds of living beings, but he carved out spirits and chose for their representation a form, in which he pictured spirits in his mind, in other words the form of cloud-like figures. This is of course a big and a basic difference.

But it is not the only way of representation, in fact very far from it. Candi Jago shows us very clearly that the Javanese had much more in stock in their spiritual armoury; but here we have for the main part the clouds, and we have to consider only those.

Armed with this knowledge, let us now look at the reliefs once again. The atmosphere, in which the story is narrated, suddenly takes a different turn, if we look at all these spirits as floating through space. We perceive something of the way, in which the Javanese looked at the world, peopled with many more living things than the naked eye can perceive. We see for instance how the spirit on plate 106 darkens Rāvaṇa's sun; how on plate 109 the small animal behind Rāvaṇa warns against Hanumat in the tree, as yet not noticed by anyone else; how on plate 129 a spirit also attacks Hanumat; we see the elephant which has been killed on plate 133, again on plate 135 as a ghost. Further we notice everywhere; how the banaspatis or kāla-heads float above the heroes or add a dark mood to the heap of

dead bodies (plate 158). If the appearance of these monsters give the whole story a certain kind of atmosphere and if this puts us in a very specially coloured world, then there are, however, other things which point to the fact that we are looking at the expression of a primitive way of thinking.

Dr. Brandes remarks about the relief on plate 154 as follows: "The volutes above this relief are strange and unusual. They are supposed to depict ports of flames, such as are thrown up by a raging fire" (698). But here again Brandes is in error. There can be no question of a fire at this stage since Hanumat's tail is set alight only on plate 166. One could, at first sight, think of an error of the sculptor, but we should apply this principle only if we are not able to find any other solution. And that is certainly not the case here, As the flames do not appear here alone, apart from those during setting Lanka on fire. They appear on most of the reliefs on East Java and Brandes in all these cases also is in a quandry. In his monograph on Jago (these flame-like volutes are expressed in large numbers on the reliefs of Candi Jago), he says: "It is similarly impossible to explain here the large number of volutes used to fill the space and to explain the minor decorative motifs which one sees so often on the reliefs of the first terrace. Without any doubt they represent to a large part clouds in the same way as in the row of reliefs in Panataran. But they are much more indistinct here, with diffused lines and without being filled out. Perhaps they have been wrongly understood" (699). It is a well known fact that in India as well as in Indonesia some people are possessed of sakti, of supernatural powers, more than others. One of the ways of getting this sakti is tapas, asceticism. The way then in which the sakti manifests itself is tejas, radiant glory. The representation of the latter has been, both in Buddhism and in Christianity, in the form of the aureole as is well known to everyone. Less known is the fact that tejas can be depicted in other ways as well.

We see for instance on a statute of Buddha from Kabul that flames emerge from his shoulders as a sign of his tejas (700). But they not only depict tejas in the sense we have mentioned. The depiction of the "holy ghost", the soul, magical energy, or whatever else falls into this category of the world of spirits, is always depicted through flames. I would also like to remind you of the flaming tongues on the heads of apostles, and of the places in our Hikayat Seri Rama where there is a mention of flames or fire as the visual representation of the soul or energy (the death of Balia and Jentayu's fight). Our expression "the light of life or the lamp of life" points to the same fact as the soul being represented as a flame (701). If the soul, the magic power of a person, is a flame, then the representation of numerous such energies could also be a flame. In fact it could stand as a symbol for the

existence of a soul in a particular sphere, for the magically "loaded" sphere, in which a particular event takes place. The flame motif of Candi Jago (702) as well as that in Panataran, is thus an expression of something, which I would like to call the "magicism" of East Javanese art (plate 229). The same kind of flame and the same flame motif is extensively used. We find it in Tibet, in China, in Japan, where together with the cloud motif, it plays a big role in Buddhist art (703). That it was used so extensively in Java on the temples of a later date, could perhaps be explained by the similarity which it had with the old magic spiral of primitive Indonesian ornamentation. This motif has been handed down to the present time in Balinese drawings, where it is still recognizable that the sphere of activity is magically "laden" and the great men and heroes of antiquity were a part and parcel of the scene.

The motif of the sakti- or better sekti-flames and the cloud-like lines also have a close connection with their Chinese parallels in the flame and cloud lines of the depiction of dragons, and again they are neither the naturalistic depiction of clouds and fire, nor impressionistic artistic inventions, but symbols, symbolic elements, with which the Javanese determined the special characteristics of what was to be represented. The typical Javanese element about this is not the form, but the way, in which they are used. And they also point in general to a primitive spiritual world view which is however not confined to the Javanese only. At first sight we could almost think that we are in front of a model in Lara Jongran. The cloud on VI.8c is in actual fact not a cloud which immediately becomes evident, if we compare it to the clouds on the scenes above the temple gates and also with those on III.4d and the photograph 2315 (plate 71). It has to be something elsc. It cannot also be a scene of a rock, as no such rocks are depicted on the panel. The other possibility is to find a relationship with the scene in question: the meeting with Parasurama. Taking all the facts into consideration I hesitate to consider this possibility, and in no event do I consider it probable.

Yet another element, which contributes to give the whole structure a special appear-

ance, is the rock motif.

Brandes has pointed to how the V-shaped rock-motif of Barabudur and the complicated motif of Lara Jongran could be logically derived from the "kubusgame" motif (this expression does not belong to him) of Ajanta cave paintings and of ancient Indian reliefs (704). But we see in Panataran very little of the V-shaped motif. Here everything is covered with the spiral motifs, which have been added in all kinds of ways to the pillar-like rocks. The main tendency of the rock-pillars is vertical whereby in Central Java the

V-form points to a horizontal direction. Plates 185 and 186 offer good examples for the schematic use of the rock motif. It appears to me that here also the spiral gives the whole another character and that everything gets a magical-symbolical meaning, which is not easy to define. The occurrence of more or less naturalistic depictions of rocks and mountains as on plates 189 and 194 points in this direction. Perhaps the old spiral eye-ornament plays a role.

I would like to note here the most significant characteristics of the reliefs of Panataran and of the East Javanese candis in general: a moving away from a feeling of space caused by the use of the third dimension and a going back to a depiction on the plain surface, two dimensions in filling empty spaces and parts of spaces with figures which have been put together with the help of the spiral motif; the use of the same motif in the form of flames for the depiction of magical energy (705).

Still other characteristics can be adduced which are, however, mostly logical developments of Central Javanese characteristics such as the stylization, the schematisation of the figures of the heroes. This stylization fulfills the same purpose. The heroes were always mythical figures from the pre-history of kings, who are considered to be still living in a magical sphere. They make the temple adequate for the god with their stones full of supernatural events and magical "discharges". They thus produce the atmosphere and make the temple to be a true place of worship. The fact of these heroes having a particular form is closely connected with the representation of the same figures in wayang. Even here the figures must have gone through the stage of development in their form which made them almost the lifeless forms and shapes and hence incomprehensible to those who wanted to identify them with people, whereas in actual fact spirits were meant. Their characteristics have originated as a result of a development through centuries. All the deviations in the form of the usual mortal human body are based on the theory of "auspicious signs". Their bodies, hence, became examples of such characteristics of supernatural excellence and auspicious characteristics.

No conscious change has even taken place and no purposeful thing has ever been carried out on these very special forms. They have just grown organically through the centuries.

One of the most important characteristics of the wayang heroes are their long arms. Now it is known that "dirghabāhu" was already an honourable title in India and a symbol of excellent qualities. We find these established in the Citralakṣaṇa. It states there that

one of the laksanas, characteristics, of a cakravartin, universal ruler, was long arms, which hung down to the knees (706). The origin of the very narrow waist can be seen in "lion-waist" of the same characteristics. The eyes of a cakravartin, according to the Citralaksana should be "elongated". In the Raghuvarnsa we read: "both the eyes reached upto the corners of the eyes (were very big and long)... (707). And in modern India we see the underlining and emphasizing the lines of the eyes (708). The straight profile as well as the slightly irregular one, as also seen on the reliefs, can be explained by an existence of the Aryan and Dravidian (and Indonesian) people. The Citralaksana mentions that characteristics, such as mentioned above with the exception of the last one, have come into existence as a result of a theory of the auspicious body-marks. Further we read in the same text that the possession of such auspicious marks can bring the owner prosperity, happiness and well-being. We also come across characteristics of a cakravartin, universal ruler, which can never be depicted such as the tongue, the teeth and even the penis in erection (709).

I shall be the last person to claim that this Citralakşana was the source for this form. I readily admit that it contains several things which do not go together with the forms of wayang and the relief-figures of Java. But such sastras must have been in existence in great numbers than are known to us today and anyway the unwritten tradition would have perhaps played an even greater role. But these auspicious signs, which to a large part or perhaps totally, were based on theories regarding the form of the Hindus, have also to be taken into consideration while explaining the changes in forms which the heroes and other figures went through both in reliefs and in wayang. The more these heroes are treated as spirits of their ancestors and even receive a special atmosphere, in which their stories are narrated, the more the supernatural and extraordinary characteristics are emphasized, and the more their forms get further from the human figure. The theory of beauty and that of auspicious signs is identical in this case.

Of course, everything is still not completely explained by all this. The differences of similar forms among themselves, would definitely have manifested themselves in later depictions. Thus it is a notable fact that the figures of Panataran were a kind of model for the later Balinese wayang figures, whereas the Javanese wayang heroes point to a more fine type, which stands in relationship more with the heroes of the other East Javanese temples.

But even other things can lead to a difference in form, which can have little or nothing to do with what has already been mentioned above, for instance, the hairdo.

2 4 70 !

But we can understand, how the opinion came up that the art of Panataran was baroque in nature. If one looks at the volutes and spirals, with which the reliefs abound, and as Brandes felt one considers them to be either totally without any meaning or with just a little meaning, then it is evident that the word baroque springs to mind. But one would be making a big mistake, as I am trying to show, regarding the spirit of the time and of the people who built Panataran. Baroque absolutely excludes magicism.

On the other hand the characterization of the art of Lara Jongran is also not fully satisfying. When we read the words "calm, harmonic and classic" then inadvertently we think about the art of the Hellenic period at its peak. Of course, it is possible that the word classic is not used in any other meaning except to describe the climax from which art degenerated gradually.

Stage by stage, in such a case the word is somewhat misleading, as the comparison with Greece cannot be meant here. What is meant to convey is that the art of Lara Jongran represents a "pure" stage, and that in Panataran we see its degeneration.

Brandes and if I am not wrong also Bosch, saw thus the stages of development (711), But I must protest against both. There can be no question of degeneration here and this is shown by the efflorescence of magicism in East Java. An art, in which such a process can be depicted, is not degenerate. On the contrary, it shows that it is capable of generating and creating new forms. Thus one thought earlier that there was a degeneration of the late classical art in the early Middle Ages but one had to gradually accept the idea that in actual fact a new kind of art was coming up which, though it used the traditions of classical forms, in actual fact worked with other values and ideals. In the first case, if we really try to compare the art of Lara Jongran with classical antiquity, then it immediately becomes apparent that it is actually not classical. The representative characteristics of its style are a marked three-dimensional effect, which led to the figures coming out of the two dimensional flat surface. (712).

That this word is a little working usage for the reliefs of Lara Jongran only for comparative purposes, will be seen soon. Here is a citation, which shows clearly that it is not the

classical but much more the post-classical period that is typical for this style of art. In actual fact the art of Lara Jongran had advanced to a further stage, which will become clear to us when I deal with the genealogical relationship with other styles.

The style of the reliefs of Lara Jongran is not isolated. It is directly preceded by the style of Barabudur. In fact it does not take too much trouble to trace back the figures bit by bit, whether they be persons, animals or objects, in the reliefs of the great Central Javanese stupa. Objects of use, clothes, jewellery and the facial features do not differ in the least, even if we take into consideration that in Barabudur there are many hundred metres of reliefs than in Lara Jongran. Above all there is much more variety. If we look at a scene on relief 372 of the series IBa, we could easily be in doubt, whether this could not also be from Lara Jongran. The treatment of the rocks, plants, animals, even the sages, is exactly as we would expect from the artisans of Lara Jongran. And yet there is a difference between the styles of both monuments, with regard to their reliefs, even if this is not apparent to the superficial observer.

On one of the reliefs in Barabudur, 109 of the base, we see two men, who are carrying some fish on a pole. The fish are hanging in a bunch in the middle of the pole and are of different sizes. If we, however, look more precisely, how the sculptor had depicted the fish or perhaps better how he has put together the bunch, we see that the fish have been ordered in a completely symmetrical way as could never happen in reality.

Two big fish are hanging to the left and right of the central line, both are equally big and fat, between the two of them the tailpiece of a third fish can be seen. Exactly below the middle line, this same symmetrical figure is repeated. A fish pond is depicted nearby. Some men are fishing in it. Surprisingly the fish are not worried about this attack on their freedom. It is almost as if they are a part of a "swimming race": they are crossing the water in exactly parallel rows and are in complete order.

In Lara Jongran the picture is totally different. There the fish are depicted in a natural state of disorder, both where they have a definite role to play in the relief (XXIV) and where this is not the case (I).

This contrast is typical for the difference of styles in both series of reliefs. In Barabudur we find a tendency towards a symmetrical way of representation, which conforms in many ways to the symmetrical construction of the monument itself. As a result of

this, the relief becomes an integral part of the monument. In the other case (Lara Jongran) we have a tendency to depict the things as naturally as possible. We do not see very much of this desire, which is so prominent in Barabudur, of creating harmony through symmetry. The pictures and stones take place as they would have taken place in reality. The symmetry in Barabudur is all the more apparent since I have chosen examples from the reliefs of the base, which as is well known, carry scenes from daily life. Of course we do not find again and again certain things which go against this symmetrical way of depiction, but every time the sculptor is victorious in respect of the matter at his disposal-and he manages to bring about the necessary harmony. And this harmony is done on purpose, it fits in totally into the system of the whole monument. The system of Mahayana, in which each figure has a counter-figure, each phase a counter-phase, each heaven a counter-heaven, and in which the mysticism of numbers and of colours plays a big role, could not have found a better visual representation than in Barabudur. This orderly influence of the system, which is still clearly to be seen in the layout of the Lara Jongran temples, and is also there in the groups of figures of dancers, rsis, avataras etc. is however completely missing in the Rama reliefs, which are hidden away behind the balustrade and invisible from the front of the temple. There behind the balustrade, we find a naturalism, which may be close to the form of Barabudur, but however is very far from the idealism which is expressed in the reliefs of the stupa because we differentiate thus the spirit of the reliefs in Barabudur, as they are the ethical and didactic career of an idea in the philosophical sense of the word.

Lara Jongran was based on the worship of the gods and the people were shown what could be made apparent to the layman from the sacred mysteries: the avatāras. But even here the representation was more inward-looking than outward-looking. One could almost assume that this took place for the sake of the god, rather than for the sake of the people. Thus it represented the transition towards East Java, where it is only a means to fit the temple to a particular god and where the reliefs render the temple as the actual residence of the god in question, in its own world with its own sphere.

Barabudur taken together as a trinity with the Pavon and Mendut, wherein Mendut

was perhaps the temple of worship, is the "monumentum", ethical-didactic. It is interesting to see, that we find parallels in our own Middle Ages, to that what we find in Central Java. When we read in Dvořák: "It is doubtless correct, if we consider the didactic dimension of medieval sculpture and painting, as a sort of 'Bible of the poor', then one should not forget that together with the historical and dogmatic contents of their representations, there was also everywhere, where it was possible, the depiction of sovereignty of intellectual insight and revelation based on the metaphysical transsubstantiation of all formal elements and connections, in contrast with the one based on the 'impure' and 'misleading' empirical perception, i.e. lex Dei in contrast with the lex naturae, should affect the spectator tremendously" (713), then we are reminded of māyā of the Buddhists, the illusory world, which one wanted to get out of. This whole development of Gothic idealism from the late classical naturalism, which has been so well described by Dvořák, and which can be understood not as a decadence or incapability but as a transformation of old norms and the amalgamation of the materialistic with the spiritual, Buddhist art also underwent exactly such a development.

As Dvořák says: "If one follows the development of these central iconographic types of Christian art of the Middle Ages, for instance the depiction of divine persons or saints, one finds that they had lost in the first period of medieval development, their original character of a naturalistic or historic determination and had been changed into abstract symbols which in comparison to their original forms had become almost formless" (714). Here we can see the development of the figure of Buddha from the Hellenistic Gandhara school, which was parallel to the early Christian saints on sarcophagus-sculptures upto its Indianization into "symbols", whereby the form of the classical "Greek" Buddhas was much removed from its late classical ideal. Then something however happens, which causes change in the art of the West. There is a totally new attitude towards nature, which is no longer neglected or treated lightly but is now incorporated into the divine system itself. Thereby Man becomes "the focus of art in a very different way than in Antiquity: not as the object, but as the subject of artistic truth and regularity" (715). This kind of idealistic naturalism was also to be found in the development of Buddhist art in Ajanta and . . in Barabudur. Although the naturalistic character comes out more strongly in the reliefs of Lara Jongran, its further development did not run parallel to that of the West. But this did not reach the stage of subjective naturalism, the study of nature for its own sake. This can, however, be brought into connection with the great changes, which were taking place in the meantime in Buddhism. If art in the West developed into an

"anti-idealism", as Dvořák calls it, then in India and perhaps even more so in Indonesia, the way pointed towards the latterly triumphant "magicism". The Javanese never knew about "the conscious study of nature. He never even strived for creating art mainly without considering all other major points with an increase in the true depiction of the perceived reality within a particular framework" (716). The Javanese had to account for the world full of magic and other dangers surrounding him.

A question which comes up in connection with a typical character of art in East Java is as follows: Do the reliefs of Lara Jongran or of Barabudur go back to Javanese or Indian models?

The answer can perhaps be as follows: The art of neither monuments can be called Javanese and also their builders could not be called Javanese. It would be best to characterize them as Javanese-Hinduistic. They are as little Hinduistic-Javanese in contrast to New Javanese art.

Now, of course, one can call the art of Barabudur Javanese art for the simple reason that the monument is situated in Java. But from the historic researches by Krom, we know that the Middle Javanese period is to be called much more Sumatran considering the major part of the art in Dieng and all the art of Buddhism. Because Śrīvijaya, the Malay-Hinduistic empire, was the political protector of Javanese Mahayana. Thus as far as Barabudur is concerned, the question has to be put slightly differently and instead of Javanese, we should perhaps say Indonesian. Were the architects of Barabudur Malayans and those of Lara Jongran Javanese?

Brandes was of the opinion that the Hindus were the architects, but as far as I can make it out, his hypothesis was based more on intuition than on facts. A regular investigation was first made by Krom but even he did not come to any very satisfactory result. He came to the conclusion: "Despite all uncertainty, which is present regarding the origin of Indo-Javanese art and which will temporarily remain so, I believe that the problem can be better put into focus, as it is not necessary to look anywhere else than towards the South of India and on the rock temples in the upper reaches of the river Godavari. (The latter is not directly the place of origin, but is the region, where something has remained preserved, which has disappeared from South), while the attention has to be diverted towards the close relationship which must have existed between the colonization of Hinter-India, specially of Campā and Java" (717). His conclusions are not very helpful.

Bosch does not exclude the possibility that the origin of the colonizing Hindus is not very relevant, as he is of the opinion that their art of construction was immediately taken over by the Indonesians, whereby they made use of their silpasastras, the handbooks

in which everything was laid down in great detail (718).

To relate the history of researches into the origin of the Javanese Hindus is a futile exercise, as for the most part one went back to certain similarities, which can lead to the most unpleasant surprises. If in reality the Indonesians were the architects of the Central Javanese temples, then it is not all that very important. But I do not, for the time being, accept this hypothesis and I shall now put down in a few words what keeps me back from doing so.

If in actual fact, Indonesians had been the constructors and the sculptors, then we ask ourselves as to what could have led them to depict such non-Indonesian types? Only among the lowest of the low, do we find figures, which can be clearly recognized as non-Hinduistic, and which can clearly be called Indonesian or Dravidian. But why did they give the more important figures such an outspoken Hindu character, even in the depiction of daily life, where the influence of sastra was perhaps the least?

How is it possible that the depiction of other things as well is so throughly non-Indonesian? (719).

But the main point is: how is it possible that we do not find in Barabudur anything of the typical figures, which we can see so remarkably for Indonesians in Panataran?

How is it that the monument which is some hundred years old shows signs of the fact that the constructors had a medieval culture behind their work, whereas the much more recent monuments show how all kinds of primitive Indonesian elements came to the surface and which point to a healthy, strong, primitive view of life and which has nothing to do with degeneration?

The latter is above all important. Brandes talks of the degeneration of Hindu-Javanese art; Bosch points as a parallel to a definitive decline of Greece. In my opinion there can be no question of a true degeneration. Art only degenerates, when it begins to overflow its limits, when its forms are used without meaning and when its function also changes insignificantly.

For long, it actually seemed and partly seems even till today, that Javanese art had gone this way. The main mistake, to overlook everything what was living in the art of East Java, to close one's eyes or at least to keep them closed to new original powers, which transformed everything and put it at their disposal, which completely took into its command the entire contents of the Hinduistic formal canons, in order to create from

them their own art, their own development of their own world view. This mistake is the cause for ascribing something to be Javanese, which it did not deserve: the art of Central Java and something which was kept away from it which it deserved; the ascendancy of the new art of East Java. Such a transformation of all values of Hindu art, such an independent working of the same cannot be simply called degeneration. That this is still taking place is a proof of the fact that the magicism of East Javanese art has been misunderstood (720). If there is no question that the later phases of the so-called Hindu-Javanese art show signs of degeneration, then the logical development of magicism from spiritual naturalism becomes debatable. The standpoint of the constructors of Central Javanese art had known magicism in hoary antiquity and it was not possible to go back to it as a people. Wildness and degeneration normally ends with death and not with the blossoming of a new youthfulness. There can be no question of death here as is proved by the continuous development of new art. Especially when it was not cut off by the transition to a new religion, Islam, which again put a stop to magicism. In this context the history of Hindu art in the archipelago runs completely parallel to that of South India. Purely due to this reason this country cannot be the place of origin but that its art was only a parallel art which went back with the Indonesian art to the same source (721).

The so called decay of Hindu-Javanese art is a myth, and the wrong impression which is prevalent everywhere has caused, as With says that "the law of development in Javanese art appears in a reversed order than that in Greece and China" (722).

The treasury of forms of the Greeks has gone twice into other lands. Firstly when the Indo-Aryans took them over from Gandhara, and the second time when the Javanese received them from these Indo-Aryans.

But despite this it still remains indisputable that the Javanese (Sumatrans), perhaps used sastras to a large degree. The effect of Indonesian intellect and spirit is in this case almost negligible, and if one wants to assume that the characteristics of Central Javanese art did not occur in India then it was totally different in East Java. Then what could have held the Indonesian man back from curbing his own opinions, about which we have learnt from the Old Javanese temples and from making him quiet and from raising himself suddenly to a medieval intellectual attitude?

It does not seem to me to be probable that the Indonesians, if they used the silpa-sastras in a way which led to the creation of more beautiful works according to the norms of art than even in the original country of the sastras, had not put in something of

themselves into this art.

To excel the authors of the sastras can only be carried out by a people, who are culturally speaking on a higher level. But where the attitude and thought of the Indonesians clearly comes to the fore, in East Java, there their works point to a thought which is culturally less well developed. It is almost impossible to reconcile these contradictions.

There is, however, a country which can be seen as a good parallel to our case i.e. Tibet. There too art was introduced from India and was then developed further on the basis of śāstras but here also we find the same process as in Java: art gradually came under Mongolian influence. Despite this we do not talk of Hindu-Tibetan art. Since the development has continued without interruption upto the present day and this art shows clearly that the typical difference was already present at a time when no real influence from India was noticeable. In other words there is little or nothing left of a Tibetan-Hindu period.

It was different in Java. The sudden break in the development, brought about by the conversion to a new religion, made the preceding era appear to be a complete whole. It even got the name Hindu-Javanese. But this name can be used equally for modern Javanese art. There is no reason why we should not call the style of the wayang figures also Hindu-Javanese, as they are logically derived from the old heroic figures of the so-called Hindu-Javanese period. This expression has gained currency even though incorrect and will continue to give rise to misunderstandings.

The progenitor of the sastra hypothesis proposes that the artists of the oldest monuments in Java had learnt their skills through "constant training and exercise", based on the sastras (723). But how can one explain the fact that at a time in which much more was being constructed and which must have required at least as much training and exercise, yet the results are so different? And this difference was not just arbitrary but is the proof of a different world view? Why should this same training and exercise produce in one case an art which surpassed the foreign one and in the other case a decay, as is normally assumed and a blossoming magicism, if I express my own opinion here? Here an unanswerable question is postulated, where no such question can be postulated.

Now I should be the last person to claim that the Indonesians lived in exclusion from the society in the period about which we are talking. It must have been exactly the same as today, where the Javanese are interested in what is happening around them and in many cases are actively participating. But at that time whatever position they might have had,

they all had a share of the Hinduistic culture. And this kind of participation remained, as is shown by later periods, equally individual as that of the Javanese brought up in Western culture, a culture brought by the Europeans so many centuries after their Hinduistic predecessors.

One of the reasons for the constant efforts to explain the origin of Central Javanese monuments as coming from Javanese culture itself, is perhaps the fact that in India nowhere does one find any characteristics in art, which could exactly depict that what has been considered characteristic for Java. If one reads in Krom's excellent "Inleiding", the chapter dealing with Hindu-Javanese art, then one is sent metaphorically from pillar to post. In fact almost in all parts of India certain things have been noticed, which remind one of the style in Central Java, but which do not really conform to it.

According to one of the mistakes that one has made till now is that one has assumed that there was a unity such as Hindu-Javanese art and this accounted for the Dieng, the Barabudur and allied architecture. We shall shortly see that there is much to be said for drawing a dividing line between the two. What was applicable to one temple was not always correct for the other. Besides, one wanted to make a differentiation between horizontal and vertical constructions. But even this is not as certain as it appears. All Indian architecture is horizontal, as it is in the true sense of the word an architecture of heaping up. This is only apparently a characteristic of the Dravidian styles.

As a result of literary investigations I am now in a position to throw new light on the question of the origin of the relief-art of Lara Jongran. We have already seen that several peculiarities, which were either considered too difficult to explain or were declared deviations and unexplicable by others, can be explained, if we compare them with Malayan Rāma legends, which we find in one form or the other in Sumatra. The explanation was so remarkable, that the possibility is not completely out of the question that both versions go back to one and the same Sumatran source. On the other hand, we have seen that the art of Lara Jongran is most closely connected with that of Barabudur, in other words with the Sumatran Sailendras of Śrīvijaya. While there is a difference between the religion of Lara Jongran which is Śivaite and that of the Sailendras, who were Buddhists, but this is the place to point out the fact that we find this in the Buddhist reminiscences of the hikayats. The piercing of the seven trees at the time of svayamvara of Sītā can be compared very well with the same trial in Buddha's youth, perhaps even more with Sudhana, shown also at a svayamvara. Further I would like to point out, that prince Sudhana had to search

out his bride from the group of kinnaris, all of whom resembled his bride and I compare with this the same episode in Seri Rama, where the hero had to look for his bride among thousand (one) statues. The influence becomes even more probable when we read that prince Sudhana, in order to get to princess Manohara, threw a ring of recognition into the pitcher of water, which was then taken to Manohara (724). The most remarkable thing is, that these episodes are not to be found anywhere in the Sanskrit epic. I thus believe that I am not very wrong, if I deal with the question of the origin of Sailendra art on the basis of the results of my researches on the origin of the Malayan Rama legends. What these results are, I have already dealt with in detail; their influence and even perhaps their origin was from the west coast of India in general and from the trading centres in the region of Gujarat in particular.

Just as the trade routes between India and China were the channels through which Buddhist influence spread continuously, this must have been the case between India and Java as well.

It is to be noticed in this connection, that Krom recounts such places where something was found which reminded one of Central Javanese and more especially of Buddhist art as places which lay near these trade routes and thus were a kind of hinterland to it.

These are for instance the rock temples of Ellora in the district of Aurangabad. Following the views of Ijzerman it was assumed that, if an influence of this region had found its way to Java, then this took place along the course of Godavari to Dravidian regions and from there further to the islands of Java. Our material, however, contradicts very strongly the origin from south and southeast India, whereas to judge from Ramakien, a greater possibility is HinterIndia and especially Siam. Therefore we shall not look towards the southeast, but rather towards the west to find the way through which probably an influence reached Java. This seems most possible through the trading centres of western India.

Let us see whether history speaks against such a representation of the development. The period of founding of Barabudur is unfortunately uncertain but we do know that this must have been between 750 and 850. As we also know that this monument came into being during the Sailendra period, and further that the Sailendras of Java were the same as those of Sumatra, or better said of Śrīvijaya, then we can modify the dates in which the culture of Central Java was promoted, and it is certainly correct, if we thus look at India of the seventh century.

This period in Indian history is characterised by the decline of the large empire which controlled the whole of India north of the Vindhya mountain and the coming up of several smaller dynasties.

From 606 to 647 the Buddhist devotee Śrī Harşavardhana ruled over a region which extended from the harbours of Gujarat to those of Bengal, from the Vindhya mountains upto the Himalayas. The vast areas of his empire, but more due to the fact that the actual cultural centre of India Magadha was in his empire, gave Harşa the title of Emperor of India, of a mahārājādhirāja. Like no other ruler, he granted his favours to the Buddhist church and only Asoka and Kaniska before him can be compared to him in this respect. To begin with he preferred Hinayana, the southern tradition, later Mahayana, the teaching of the northern church. Under his rule Buddhism stepped for the first time into Tibet, and under him it developed into a strong religion, stretching out in all directions as had never been known before. In the kingdom of Sindh, there were no less than ten thousand Buddhist monks, according to the writings of Hiuen Tsang. In Kashmir and Nepal the religion had similarly blossomed probably in the "modified Tantrik variety" (725). Kalinga the eastern neighbour of Harsa, had been made poor and less populous because of his But in southwest, in other words in the region to the south of military campaigns. Narmada, ruled his powerful rival Pulakesin II, who received envoys from Persia and on whose territory the famous Ajanta caves were situated.

This great empire of Harşa, the last of the true mahārājās, fell apart after his death in 647. The emphasis partly shifted to Bengal, and the actual development of south India began.

It is interesting to note that similarly after the death of Harsa, the kingdom of Śrivijaya began to develop into a big power. This development took place roughly between the years 650 to 750. After this between 750 to 825, this kingdom even achieved a predominant position of power over the surrounding areas. One can see a typical similarity with the development of other Buddhist kingdoms. We see the beginning of the Bengali Pāla dynasty shortly after the decline of Harsa's empire. The dynasty extended its influence in the following centuries, and approximately in 1023 resisted the attacks of the south Indian Cola kings, who vanquished the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in 1024. In fact the discovery of an unpublished inscription in Nalanda, in the old intellectual seat of the Mahāyāna school, proves that there existed a direct treaty between the rulers of Bengal and those of Śrīvijaya, but this is from a somewhat later period than we assume for the colonisation of Sumatra (726).

It is equally interesting to note what Smith has written regarding our knowledge of the great development of Buddhism at that time: "Religion suffered a grave loss by the gradual extinction of Buddhism, which, in virtue of imperceptible changes, became merged in various Hindu sects. Only in Magadha and the neighbouring countries the religion of material collected by me does not contradict, on the contrary it speaks for it. I have found in the remains of Nalanda many things, which can be taken as the direct prototypes of Central Javanese ar. and in this way it might even be possible to draw a line, which leads from the art of Lara Jongran via that of Barabudur, to the temples of western India, Nalanda, to the famous school of Gandhara, where the stūpa sculptures are so near the Hellenistic sarcophagus-sculptures, which are known to us from Asia Minor. This art of sculpture was made more suitable for the ancient Asiatic terrace pyramid and a successor to this we find in Barabudur. Gandhara sculpture is closely related to old Christian sarcophagi and at the same time the art of Barabudur is a distant relative of the altar reliefs and reliquaries of our medieval cathedrals. Everything goes back in the final end, like their religio-philosophical parallels, to the culture of Hellenism.

The development goes via Barabudur to Candi Lara Jongran but it stops there. I have already stated that the hairdos of the East Javanese heroes on the reliefs are very similar to those of wayang figures and hence can be explained as precursors of the same, but no prototypes are to be found anywhere on the reliefs of Barabudur or Lara Jongran. One does not find either the gelun centun nor the garuda munkur hairdo. Latest discoveries have shown, where the oldest forms of these can be found. These are the as yet unpublished reliefs of Jalatunda, a burial- and bathing-place of the year 977. There we find a small figure (photo O.D. 6548 and others), whose hairdo is decorated in a way which completely conforms to that of gelun centun, and on photo O.D. 6553 we see a person with an artistically done hairdo, from which a garuda head can be seen. Of course the form of both is not exactly like the hairdos of Candi Panataran, but one has to consider in this connection that these reliefs are older by several centuries. There are also other things on the Jalatunda reliefs, which remind one of Panataran, for instance, the use of spirals, the East Javanese slim figures with their thin arms and bodies, which remind one of the figure of Sītā on plate 110, as also the depiction of trees. All these typically East Javanese stylistic characteristics become all the more important, as these reliefs timewise are very near those of Lara Jongran but stylewise are already very far from them.

I do not believe I am very wrong if I consider the style of Jalatunda not following logically from that of Lara Jongran, and I am of the opinion that as a result of these reliefs the supposed unity of Hindu-Javanese art has to be put into question. It is all the same whether these reliefs came into existence due to a new influx from India, or whether they go back to a more ancient Hindu-Javanese art, which must have been closely connected

with the art of Dieng. But as no narrative reliefs have come down to us from Dieng, it is not possible to make a comparison. In both cases the reliefs of the Sailendras (Barabudur and Lara Jongran) stand somewhat apart from the general development and could have only had some influence on it.

The origin of the Jalatunda reliefs is a problem in its own right. I will mention here only in passing the occurrence of a hairdo on the Ananda temple in Pagan (Burma) which has some similarity with gelun centum (A.R. 1913-14:63 ff. pl. XXXVIII). Naturally not much can be said just now, and only after the meaning of the reliefs has become clear, could a more detailed investigation bear fruit. For the time being its great importance lies in the fact that so near the art of Lara Jongran, a style is found, which shows more points of contact with a later East Javanese style, rather than with the Central Javanese. It is remarkable that the reliefs of Jalatunda are dated at a time, in which the text was written, which forms the base of the Panataran reliefs (the Old Javanese translation of Sanskrit works) whereas the reliefs themselves could be a prototype of those in Panataran and hence do not have any close contact with those of Lara Jongran.

Without wanting to claim that Lara Jongran did not offer any transitional forms to East Java and hence can be considered a kind of final destination. I shall believe that it is not possible to lay much store on the logical aspect of the development from Central Java to Eastern Java in their reliefs. In fact we should instead be ready to accept the fact that perhaps an even deeper break is discovered than one normally assumes on the authority of Brandes. In other words, the actual participation of the Javanese in the Hindu culture of Central Java began immediately after the Sailendras.

Although some expect from me that I should also say something about the aesthetic value of the reliefs in question, but in my opinion such a study as this is not meant for it. Nothing is "in itself" either ugly or beautiful and it depends on numerous factors, whether it is called beautiful or not beautiful. The aesthetic judgement depends very logically on our own viewpoints. The Javanese find the reliefs of Panataran beautiful, whereas those of Barabudur appeal to them less. The Europeans on the other hand react mostly the other way round.

The reasons for this may be very interesting but do not belong to this thesis.

Absolute aesthetic norms, if there are any such, cannot be controlled, and to work

with them would lead to a kind of aesthetic dictatorship and that I would not like. By forcing one's own judgement, one would not be helping the people in general, because either it would be swallowed wholesale and would have no value, or it would be much admired by similar-minded persons and the value of that is even less. Such an aesthetic judgement possesses the characteristic of saying more about the author than about the work of art itself.

When it is really necessary to give some principles in order to enjoy the art of the reliefs then I consider the case to be hopeless. What I feel necessary is to broaden one's knowledge as far as possible, to do away with all disturbing and "foreign" factors. We can find material for this in the text.

The most important thing which this material gives us is the conviction that just like the art of Late Antiquity in the West developed itself further through the acceptance of Christianity upto the art of early Medieval times, the acceptance of Buddhism in the East introduced a development which upto Java ran parallel to that in the West. This development perhaps ran parallel even later in the Far East, China and Japan. In Java there was a division of the ways after the Central Javanese period. Whereas the individual factor in the West laid the foundation for all later artistic development, in Java "magicism" took over the formal principles of the Hindus and in the same way laid a new foundation for the art of modern Java.

This conclusion can be valuable for a correct evaluation of the Javanese according to cultural norms and could ultimately give the basis for a new and more fruitful investigation of Javanese art in its widest sense.

X

THE RAMA RELIEFS ON THE VISNU TEMPLE AT DEOGARH

I add here a short description of the reliefs, which show very few direct points of contact with the style of reliefs in Lara Jongrah, which could be considered as their precursor, even though they belong to an older related school (Gupta). It is still remarkable that although the reliefs have been shown in a few small panels and even more than in the case of Panataran, are divided by big gaps, the composition and "mise en scene" shows much greater conformity with the reliefs of Lara Jongran than with the Rama reliefs of Vijayanagar (Hampi) or with those of HinterIndia. Here also we find a naturalism, such as can be seen in the treatment of trees which is very close to many of the Barabudur and Lara Jongran reliefs (735). But there are differences as well. Rama and his companions are represented as princes in Java, adorned with royal ornaments; but on the temple at Deograh, they are all ascetics, which is more in accord with the story of Valmīki.

Photo 2284 (plate 90) represents perhaps Rāma and Lakşmana, Rāma shooting an arrow and Laksmana stringing the bow. Which episode is meant here is not quite clear. It is not improbable to think of an episode in the early part of the story, for example, the fight with Tataka or with raksasas. It cannot be the svayamvara scene as Laksmana had remained an observer there. It is also not a scene of the final fight as the character of the forest does not conform to this and in any case there should have been more figures in the scene. Perhaps it is the shooting of an arrow into the sea, which can be imagined by Rāma's arrow pointing downwards. As Laksmaņa also has a bow, this identification does not seem very possible.

2311 (plate 91) could be something like Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana going to the forest.

Both the following reliefs are more important.

2282 (plate 92) depicts, according to the discoverer of this relief Daya Ram Sahni, the punishment of Surpanakha by Laksmana. This supposition seems to me to be correct. Rāma is sitting on the left. His hairdo conforms much more to the story than with that of Rāma on the reliefs in Java. It is shown clearly that he had become an ascetic. The gesture of Rama is a proof that I was right when I supposed a particular meaning in the gestures on the Javanese reliefs. Rāma is raising his right hand in abhaya-mudrā towards Sītā, who is being threatened by Śūrpaṇakhā. Behind the shoulders of Rāma and Lakşmaṇa one can see the upper part of a quiver. Perhaps the crossbands were supposed to keep this in position. The treatment of the leaves is worthy of note, as they remind to some extent of the leafy rosettes in Lara Jongran, but those on 2283 are very close to those of Barabudur 081.

2283 (plate 93) depicts, according to the view of the same scholar, perhaps a meeting with Sabarī. If this is so, who is the ascetic on the right side, who is holding in his right hand an akṣamālā and in his left a lotus (?). The kneeling woman is offering a flower to Rāma, who is sitting in a somewhat arrogant posture. As Sītā is not present in the scene (this woman can hardly be taken to represent her) perhaps the abduction has already taken place. But I cannot give the correct meaning with certainty.

2312 (plate 94) seems to represent the brothers with Sugrīva or Hanuman. The flower garlands, vanamala, could point as in the case of flower in Lara Jongran to a meeting. It appears to me, that in the relief a particular direction can be observed, so that we can take the gesture of the monkey, perhaps for one pointing a particular way. In this case this could be a meeting with Hanumat.

2314 (plate 95). Daya Ram Sahni has said that this is perhaps the handing over of Rāma's ring by Hanumat. I believe that the presence of the third person makes it improbable. This figure, to be seen on the extreme left of the relief, has curly hair similar to the kneeling rākṣasa and in other ways too seems to be of the same rank as the kneeling figure. Either they are both rākṣasas, then Hanumat cannot be depicted here, or they are both monkeys and then there is one monkey too many in this scene. In my opinion, I prefer the first of the possibilities and think that the woman in the background is supporting the man sitting down. In fact that he is leaning limply backwards, could mean that he is not in complete possession of his strength. Is this a scene from the battle(?). A dying rākṣasa leader(?). The object he holds in his right hand is a flower. If we look more exactly, we can see to the extreme right of the relief, near the right arm of the dying(?) rākṣasa, the traces of another supporting person, a hand and on the floor a leg, which makes my supposition even more probable. But who is actually dying, is not very clear to me.

2312 (plate 96). A scene from the battle. Two raksasas can be seen. One of them has a sword, the other holds a third person by the arm, who is not quite to be seen on the relief.

In comparison to the reliefs of Lara Jongran, these reliefs are not so important as one would think, but despite this fact they are important as they tell us that the Ramayana was also depicted in India and even before the time of Lara Jongran.

Unfortunately I was not able to get photos of the south Indian Rāma reliefs from Hampi, although I tried my best to do so, but anyone who sees the partial illustration in

Smith, immediately gets the correct impression (731). They are completely different from the Javanese reliefs, but seem to be in closer proximity in their flat, simple style to the reliefs of Ba Puon. This would fit in well with my supposition that we have to consider south India rather than the north as a starting point for Kampuchea and the other countries of HinterIndia. To go into details here, would be to stray too far.

It remains for me to point out the excellent study of Coedes about the reliefs of Angkor Vat. The style can be explained directly from that of Ba Puon, without the fact that necessarily, the latter was the precursor of the former. On closer scrutiny it becomes apparent, that perhaps even here the magicism of East Java has found its expression. Together with the flatness of the reliefs, which we have already seen in south India, we are surprised by other expressions of a more primitive spiritual world. I will not go into details but will only refer to the magic flame motif which I think I can see on reliefs 149-151 (plate II in Coedes) near the heads of Garuda and of Bāna. Or do I have an illusion?

· XI.

REMARKS ON PLATES ADDED FOR COMPARISON

- Pl. 89. After their return to Ayodhya, Rāma and Sitā are sitting on a throne and they are being worshipped by the gods, who have come for this purpose. One can see behind the brahmans with white beards, the god Brahman with four heads, Śiva with snakes and skulls, behind him Indra who is recognizable by the many eyes, and in the foreground Ganeśa with the elephants's head. Behind Rāma and Sītā stand the monkeyand bear-kings.
- Pl. 97. Hanumat in a posture of request. A south Indian bronze, which is adduced here as a comparison with the Hanumat figures of the reliefs. The tip of the tail can be seen above the head.
- Pl. 100. Rāma with bow and arrow and Laksmana. A stone sculpture from Nepal. Remarkable are the chains both are carrying around the shoulders, and which we had already seen on plate 94 as decoration of Rāma and Hanumat. Originally they wore garlands of flowers.
- Pl. 101. Hanumat carrying the mountain, a very common representation of the monkey. In his right hand he is carrying a club, in the left is the mountain, on which a herb is growing, which he had to fetch to heal Laksmana and which had hidden itself from him on his arrival. He is crushing a demon under his foot, perhaps the raksasa Kalanemi, who was sent by Ravana after him and whom he killed.
- Pl. 102. Footprints of Rama and Laksmana, sorrounded by symbols. To be clearly seen are sankha (conch of Visnu), the lotus and the club, all attributes of Visnu. The fourth symbol has great similarity with the flame motif of later Javanese temples and also with the "Buddha-flame", the ulalom, which can be seen on many Siamese Buddha figures.
- Pl. 103. Worship of Rāma and Sitā in the same way as on plate 89, but without the participation of the gods. Among the figures to the right of Rāma one can see some monkeys, among the figures to the left of Sītā one can make out Garuḍa (no.4).

- Pl. 104. On the lower half of the vessel, one can see a chariot, which is being led by Hanumat and in which Sitā is sitting between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Above the chariot is an inscription in Nāgarī letters, which gives the identity of the persons.
- PI. 211. Kumbhakarna is holding Sugrīva in his left hand. Below to his left stand Rāma and Lakşmana. Hanumat is attacking the giant from above (represented as a white monkey). From the right, a monkey king with flaming hair (Anala?) is fighting against him. Finally, ordinary monkeys are climbing on to the colossus from all sides.

NOTES

- (1) A. Weber, Die Rama-Tapaniya-Upanishad, ABA. 1864:357.
- (2) M. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur 1.405.
- (3) H. Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaņa.
- (4) She was found by Janaka, while ploughing a sacrificial furrow.
- (5) Mārīca is shot into the sea and thus survives the battle.
- (6) Mahābhārata 3.273-291. Mārkaņdeya narrates the story to Yudhisthira.
- (7) Mahābharata 3.147-149 narrated by Hanumat to Bhīma. Idem 7.59 by Narada to Srfijaya, and idem 12.29 by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhisthira.
 - (8) Agnipurăņa, ed. Rajendralala Mitra, 1.10-27.
- (9) V.A. Smith, The Early History of India 21-23. E.J. Rapson, The Cambridge History of India 1.299.
- (10) For the chronology see R.G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, in Grundriss III/6.48: "There is a work, entitled the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, which Ekanātha (Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa), a Mahārāṣṭra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old rsis".
 - (11) J. Talboys Wheeler, The History of India, from the earliest ages 2.336A.
 - (12) A Baumgartner, Das Rāmāyaņa und die Rāmaliteratur der Indier 140.
 - (13) G.A. Grierson, Tulasidas, Poet and Religious Reformer, JRAS 1903:447.
 - (14) M. Winternitz, o.c. 1.454.
- (15) The Mahānāṭaka and the Uttararāmacarita have been edited and translated. An analysis by Wilson (H.H., Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus) of the Mahāvīracarita 2.323, of the Anargha-rāghava 2.375, of the Dūtāngada 2.390, of the Abhirāma-maṇi 2.395. Then in JAOS. 1912:58-77 a translation of the Dūtāngada. Bala-rāmāyaṇa, Jānakī-pariṇaya, Maithilīya Prasanna-rāghava, Unmatta-rāghava, Pratimā-nāṭaka, Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka are available only as edited works.
- (16) Compare for example the following episode by Tulasi Das, after F.S. Growse, The Rámáyana of Tulsi Das, 394 (episode of the deer): "Thereupon, Ráma, who understood the meaning of it all arose with joy to execute the purpose of the gods". And when the pseudo-deer has been killed: "As life ebbed, he resumed his natural form and devoutly repeated the name of Rama, who in his wisdom recognizing his inward love, gave him such a place in heaven as saints can scarcely attain to. Dohá 23: The gods rained down abundant flowers and hymned the Lord's high virtue: "Raghunáth, the suppliant's friend, raised to his own sphere even a demon!"
 - (17) H. Oldenberg, Die Literatur des Alten Indien 265, 266.

- (18) R. Pischel, Das Altindische Schattenspiel, SKPA.1906:482ff. Sten Konow, Das Indische Drama, Grundriss II/2D:45-46 accepts Pischel's hypothesis. Here we come across an interesting problem of the origin of HinterIndian and Javanese shadow plays. Till now this is uncertain, as one assumes that the first ones are supposed to be the successors of the latter, whereby the matter of the latter plays are considered to be the "decadent" form of the Mahābharata and Rāmayaṇa stories, except when it is purely Indonesian. I shall refer back to one or the other in connection with Pischel's remark that the Siamese Prah raxaniphon Ramakien is a text corresponding to the chāyānāṭakas.
 - (19) R.S. Dinesh Chandra Sen, The Bengali Ramayanas, 217ff.
 - (20) L.H. Gray, The Dütangada of Subhata, JAOS.1912:77.
- (21) A Rāmapālacarita narrates both the fate of Rāma as well as that of the history of king Rāmāpala of Bengal. Rāghava-naiṣadhīya narrates the story of Rāma and Nala simultaneously. Compare M. Winternitz, o.c. 3.75, 125.
 - (22) G.A. Grierson, The Gumani Niti, IA. XXXVIII.177ff.
- (23) We find the most important things listed by Baumgartner, o.c. 135-157. In the meantime one or the other has become famous. I refer to Sen's Bengālī Rāmāyaṇas, to the Linguistic Survey of India IX part IV for the Pahari Rāmāyaṇa of Bhānu Bhaṭṭa, to F.K. Krishṇa Menon, Notes on Malayalam Literature, JRAS.1900:763ff. and to H. Nau, Prolegomena zu Pattanattu Piḷḷaiyars Pāḍal, for Kambar's Rāmāyaṇa. The most important and the best known are those of Tulasī Dās from the 16th century, the Bengālī Rāmāyaṇa of Kṛttivāsa from the 15th and Kambar's version probably from the 11th or 12th century.
- (24) I shall only mention the version of Kşemendra, the Rāmāyaṇa-kathā-sāra-mañjarī from the 11th century and Bhoja's Rāmāyaṇa-campu from the same period. Further an Adbhuta-rāmāyaṇa with interesting variants, a Yoga-vāsiṣtha-rāmāyaṇa and a Devī-rāmayaṇa reported by Majumdar (IA.XXXI.353). The last two are of later dates. Rāma-pūrva-tāpanīya, a Rāmottara-tāpanīya, and a Hanumad-ukta-rāma, three small upaniṣads, also of a more recent date (A. Weber, ABA.1864). The Jains have included the Rāmāyaṇa in their Satruñjaya-māhātmya (J. Burgess, IA.XXX.251). The Jain Guṇabhadrā-carya composed an Uttara-purāṇa in the 8th century which narrates the legend of Rāma. In the 12th century, the Jain Hemacandrācārya did the same (Sen, The Bengālī Ramāyaṇas 35A, 206).
 - (25) M. Monier Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, III.
 - (26) See the results of an investigation made by Marshall about these festivals and

their ceremonies by W. Ridgeway, The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races 172-211 and the attached plates.

- (27) W. Ridgeway, o.c. 177.
- (28) W. Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India 1.63.
- (29) J. Hurton Knowles, Kalī Nag, a Kashmir Legend, IA.XVIII.318.
- (30) Rājataranginī 3.446-448.
- (31) W. Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, 3.89, 259, 312, 366, 436, 4.147.
 - (32) P.M. Legêne, Hor er din Broder? 91.
 - (33) R.E. Enthoven, Folklore of Gujarat, IA. XLVI supp. 130.
 - (34) M. Monier Williams, o.c. 62.
 - (35) H.A. Rose, The Troubles of Love, IA. XXXVIII.149.
 - (36) E. Thurston, Ethnographic Notes in Southern India 93-94.
 - (37) C.E. Luard, Tattooing in Central India, IA. XXXIII.226.
- (38) M.N. Venkataswami, Some Telugu Nursery Songs and Catches, IA. XXXV.151 no. II.
 - (39) W. Crooke, Popular Religion 2.256.
 - (40) R.S. Dinesh Chandra Sen, The Bengālī Rāmāyaņas 47.
 - (41) W. Crooke, o.c. 1.86.
 - (42) W. Crooke, o.c. 1.87.
 - (43) A. Grünwedel, Sinhalesische Masken, IAE.VI.73.
- (44) In this context I would like to bring out the role which Hanumat plays in Gujarat as a conjurer in cases of being possessed by demons. A Hanumān-rakṣā-mantra is given by R.E. Enthoven in IA.XLI supp. He is the lord above all evil spirits and belongs to the seven cirajīvas (Aśvatthamā, Bali, Vyasa, Hanumat, Vibhīsaņa, Krpa, Paraśurāma). In Thurston (o.c. pl. XIII) one finds him depicted as the conjurer of the evil eye. In conclusion I refer to the statue of Hanumat in Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography 1.1 plate IV. Even here his left hand is resting on his sexual organs.
 - (45) E.T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal 141, 105.
 - (46) H.H. Wilson, Select Specimens 1.313.
 - (47) W. Crooke, o.c. 1.195.
 - (48) R.S. Dinesh Chandra Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature 184.
 - (49) W. Ridgeway, o.c. 257.
- (50) A portion is translated by F.W.K.Müller, Nang, Siamesische Schattenspielfiguren in Kön. Mus. für Völk. zu Berlin, IAE. 1894 supp..
 - (51) L. Fournereau, Le Siam ancien, AMG. 1895:1.225ff.
 - (52) J. Moura, Le Royaume du Cambodge 2.445.

- (53) E. Huber, La Légende du Rāmāyaņa en Annam, BEFEO.1905:168.
- (54) M. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Literatur 3.630.
- (55) A letter dated 10.8.1923. In this connection I would like to point to the Hanumat legend in the rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byun gnas narrated by Laufer (B. Laufer, Über ein Tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bonpo, TP. 1901:26, 27). Hanumat is termed Halumandha and he is supposed to have broken off a piece of the mountain Tise in Persia and brought to the Lord of Bod (Tibet). In this way the Tibetan Tise is supposed to have originated. Then I would like to refer to fact that the Tibetans considered themselves to be the progeny of a monkey and a mountain-rākṣasī (brag srin mo), and they are quite convinced of the fact that once they had a tail. The latter is very interesting if one compares it to the remark of Dinesh Chandra Sen in his Bengālī Rāmāyanas, that there was a custom in some Indian dynasties to have a tail at the time of the coronation (page 52). He also refers to the story of Murāri Gupta and his tail in the Vaiṣṇava-vandana. A strange parallel to these totemistic reminiscences is the fact that in Java it was forbidden to eat the flesh of monkeys in the Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin 6.182.
 - (56) J. Groneman, Tjandi Prambanan op Midden-Java na de Ontgraving 5.
- (57) M. Lulius van Goor, Korte Gids voor de Tempelbouwvallen in de Prambanan Vlakte, het Dieng-Plateau en Gedong Sanga, 31ff.
 - (58) J. Ph. Vogel, Het eerste Rama relief van Prambanan, Bijdr. 77.202.
- (59) Verslag van het Tweede Congres van het oostersch Genootschap in Nederland 46-47.
 - (60) N.J. Krom, Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst 1.460-464.
 - (61) A. Grünwedel, Alt-Kutscha 1.31.
 - (62) A. Grünwedel, o.c. 1.31.
- (63) N. J. Krom, o.c. 1.487, 488: Stones with slight concavity in front, apparently meant to be decorated with reliefs and with a short inscription in light colour, which is now almost illegible. The words of two inscriptions patī hyan (statue of a god) and langitan (heavenly scene) are doubtless indications for the sculptor, as to what he has to do here". See also 1.333, 370.
- (64) The question of stylistic development is the first point for which we can perhaps get some information. Anyone who has anything to do with Old Javanese sculpture will immediately notice the very marked differences between the styles, which follow each other, and do not conform to relatively small number of candis which have narrative reliefs.

The difference in style between two successive candi-reliefs is sometimes so great, that one could be tempted to ask whether the difference is not due to the differing stylistic conceptions of two strongly individual artists. But this, as we shall see later, is not possible. The development of Hindu-Javanese style could not have the same individual concepts of art as is so often met with in modern art. One could try to explain these differences by assuming that other colonizers carried out the work by bringing their own style from somewhere else but of which no traces have come down to us. This view conflicts with the existing facts, which do not know of such a frequent colonisation. The difficulty could perhaps be solved, if one assumed that there were numerous other candis with narrative reliefs, on which one could observe the development of style and which have however been lost to us. Even that cannot be presupposed. In actual fact the number of candis is very large, and it would not surprise us at all, if many others are found. One cannot believe that such a large number of temples was lost which would also be necessary to explain the various stages of stylistic development.

If one however assumes that together with the reliefs in stone there was still a larger number of murals or carvings on wood-panels then one would have a large area for logically determining the development of style. It is absolutely unthinkable, that the candis we have at present could have been enough for worship by the ancient Javanese people; together there must have been large wooden buildings at certain places, for example in the Buddhist region of Central Java, which must have been extensively present to satisfy all kinds of desire for worship. Housing was needed for people in service in the temples, large monasteries etc.

We shall see, while dealing with the iconographic part of our investigation, how such buildings were decorated mostly if not always with reliefs in wood or with murals. In fact we can even assume that in Javanese Buddhism, which was so closely linked to the Buddhism of ancient Tibet, there were pictorial representations on cloth, similar to the Tibetan thankas, which were fragile and must have been renewed often. As a result the number of reliefs in the candis had been reduced to a very small part of the totality of Hindu-Javanese art, a part of which has come to us as it was eternalized on imperishable stone. At the same time the emphasis now shifts in the development of style to the drawings and pictorial representations and it would not be far-fetched to assume that these reliefs were nothing else but drawings, carried out in stone. Thus this becomes more

plausible if one compares it to the methods of work of the Buddhists in India and Central Asia.

We can perhaps also look at the question whether it is not possible to explain the socalled difference in style on the Barabudur reliefs by supposing that possibly readycut patterns were used, while working on the reliefs. Krom had expressed his surprise about the fact that on two neighbouring reliefs, which belong to the same narrative the same persons depicted on them are often very different in form. He says: "sometimes it goes so far that things which are extremely important and which in the written texts are described by name on successive reliefs look totally different. It can also be observed once that the main person of a story in the same episode is represented to begin with as beardless later with a flowing beard" (N.J. Krom, Inleiding, 1.368). The author tries to explain this by presuming that different people worked on the same series of reliefs (N.J. Krom, Barabudur, T 663). It appears that we have in such changes proof of the subordinate role played by the sculptors in the whole concept, in fact we can almost speak of masons. instead. To represent the picture based on one's own views and understanding is in contradiction to the character of this medieval Indian art, as that would be exactly the opposite of what we know about the use and the clear prominence of the silpa-sastras. We are thus left with nothing but to assume that the sculptors worked on their tasks, without bothering about what their neighbour did. This supposition becomes more comprehensible that the sculptors took their patterns for their figures from out of a stock which had been created for painting the monastery walls, for painting on cloth, or for wood carving. Of course, one should not think here of the mechanical methods of the Tibetans.

Finally in this context, I would like to mention the form of the reliefs, which is for the most part a long one. Brandes postulated in this context that in East Java where the more narrow form was normally used, was due to the influence of the written material of those days, namely of the palm-leaf (lontar) manuscripts. But it seems to me as if this influence came somewhat later as the use of such narrow manuscripts on palm leaves was considered by the Buddhists as very ancient in the 7th century itself (G. Bühler, Indische Paläographie 89). Without waiting to claim that in this period of East Java, ready-cut patterns were in use which gave rise to the same mechanical way of working as warranted by the Tibetan and Central Asian. Here I would like to point out something else. While

considering the relationship between great length and narrow breadth, one is reminded strongly of the reliefs of East Java on the one hand and of similar size drawings on the other: the wayang beber. As far as the form as well as the treatment of the matter and style are concerned, the wayang beber (hereby the story of a wayang episode as depicted on a very long and narrow strip is rolled out for the said episode) shows a complete parallel to the long and narrow Javanese reliefs. Even if it sometimes appears that the reliefs represent a wayang performance in stone, it is good to think of the wayang beber and not of the wayang purva. The latter wayang beber could perhaps in earlier times, at least as far as its method of drawing is concerned, be related to the Japanese makimono, which also depicted historic stories. The same kind of relationship exists between the form of thanka and the kakemono.

In summary my conclusion is that paintings and drawings should be given a greater role in the development of the style than the reliefs. This can be applied right upto the present day. During the Central Javanese period, however, we should not exclude the possibility of the use of ready-cut patterns.

- (65) Mahābhārata 3.273-292.
- (66) Ramāyana 7.9: Sumāli, the son of Sukesa and Devavatī, sends his daughter Kaikasī to Visravas, the son of Pulastya, the son of Prajāpati. The children of Kaikasī and Visravas are: Rāvana, Kumbhakarna, Śūrpanakhā and Vibhīsana.

Mah. 3.274: Vaisravaņa, the son of Visravas sends three women to him: Puspotkaṭā, Rākā and Mālinī. Rāvaņa and Kumbhakarņa are then the children of Puspotkaṭā, Vibhīsaṇa is the son of Mālinī, Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā were born of Rākā.

- (67) H. Jacobi, o.c. 76.
- (68) There she is the daughter of Mālyavat. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Rāvaṇa's mother is called Kumbhīnasī, a sister of Puṣpotkaṭā. In the Padma-purāṇa she is the same as in Vālmīki.
- (69) The gandharva Dundubhi incarnates as Manthara, when Viṣṇu came down to earth. She received from Brahman the task of causing quarrels (Mah. 3.275). Compare also the passage in the Mahāvīracarita of Bhavabhūti, where Sūrpaṇakhā goes into the palace of Dasaratha in the form of Mantharā (4th act). The same in Anargha-rāghava. In Vālmīki Mantharā is an ordinary maid-servant.
- (70) It has been presupposed that Vālmīki's epic was the original one. Gerth van Wijk believed that some episodes of the Malayan hikayat have been borrowed from the "famous Sanskrit epic", whereby he must have been thinking of Vālmīki (TBG. XXXIV.401).

Kern speaks of the 'confusion' which does not come from the books and gives several examples of it in his famous work "Indische sage in een javaansch gewaad" (Indian legend in a Javanese clothing), but always refers back to the versions of the Mahābhārata which are normally used in India (VG. X.198). In his foreword to the story of a part of the Old Javanese Rāmāyana he says: "Although the author of the Kakavin has brought about many of his own inventions, especially in the last three sargas" (VG. X.79). It is however not clear that Kern has got enough proof of this, and we can be sure that these so-called invented things are not to be found in one or the other of the Indian Rāma stories.

It is certain that union of Rāma and Sītā, which Kern thinks is such a deliberate change (foreword to the Rāmāyaṇa edition VI) was well known to Indian drama.

- (71) Rām. 6.21-22.
- (72) Mah. 3.282.
- (73) Bhag. pur. 9.10.13.
- (74) Rām. 3.18.
- (75) Bhag. pur. 9.10.9. idem Băla-rămāyaņa.
- (76) Mah. 3.289.
- (77) Ram. 6.108.
- (78) Mah. 3.289.
- (79) Mah. 3.288.
- (80) Particularly in Murari and in the 5th act of Prasanna-raghava.
- (81) Hanuman-nāṭaka 9th and 10th act.
- (82) Hanuman-nāṭaka 13th act. Rām. 6.50.
- (83) Hanuman-nāţaka 14th act.
- (84) Mahāvīracarita 2nd act: Parasurāma, who is here a disciple of Siva, wants to fight Rāma because he had strung the bow of his own lord and broken it.
- (85) Mahāvīracarita 2nd act. An echo of this kāñcana-mocana was found by me in a Telugu song, which has been quoted by M.N. Venkataswami IA. XXXV.150 (?). It was read kanka num, which is explained by the author as copper ring, with beatle etc. which is put on the wrist at marriage ceremonies. This song, which consists of short unrelated clusters of words, begins thus: Koko Lanka, kodaval lanka, lanka dhisina, Ramudu paita etc. (Koko Lanka, Lanka of the Scythe, Conqueror of Lanka, Rāma's city etc.).
- (86) Mahāvīracarita 5th act. Vibhīsaņa sends a female ascetic to Rāma, who is served from the claws of Kabandha by Laksmana on Rāma's order. Rāma learns from her that

Vibhīṣaṇa belonged to the society of monkeys, who found Sītā's ornaments after the abduction.

- , (87) Mahāvīracarita 5th act: Rāma meets Vālin and gains victory over him. Hearing the rumours of this fight, Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa etc. come there and meet Rāma for the first time.
- (88) Particularly the play within a play, where Sita accompanied by Prithivi and Ganga comes on to the stage, in front of Rama and others. She and her twins, Kusa and Lava, have just been saved from being drowned. When Rama herethrough comes to his senses and asks for Sita, the real Sita is brought to him.
- (89) Unfortunately we do not have any precise facts for dating it, yet there is no doubt about the time to which the kakavin can be dated. The comparison of the language of the poem with that of the inscriptions can only lead to misleading results, as the latter often used exactly as in Europe an archaic official language. Kern talks about the efflorescence of Kavi literature (VG. 9.253), as that period to which the poem has to be dated. This falls in the Kadiri period: We accept Kern's view that the poet did not know any Sanskrit (VG. 9.300). He must have taken his material from an Old Javanese paraphrase of Sanskrit slokas in the style of the Uttarakanda translation (V.D. Tuuk 1.187). Such a translation must have been lost for the rest of the books. Hence the poem can be dated to a period after these translations, and as we know that these took place in the latter half of the 10th century, we have here a point of departure. In the period of Erlanga and of the first Kadiri kings, independent Old Javanese adaptations of this material were written, for instance Arjuna-vivāha by Mpu Kanva under Erlanga, Kṛṣṇāyana by Triguṇa, Sumanasantaka by Monaguna under Jayavarsa of Kadiri, Smaradahana by Dharmmaja under Kāmeśvara, Bharatayuddha by Sĕdah and Panuluh, Harivahśa by Panuluh, and finally the Ghatokacasraya under Jayabhaya (N.J. Krom, TBG. LVII.508ff). The Ramayana must without doubt be categorized under these, but where? In his foreword to the Rāmāyaṇa edition Kern comes to the conclusion, that this work is younger than the Bharatayuddha (1157), but older than the Bhomakavya, and can perhaps be dated in the-13th century. Now V.D. Tuuk thinks that the Bhomakavya was perhaps composed in the 12th century, which is a direct contradiction to Kern's view, but perhaps deserves to be given preference. The facts from the vavatěkan (J. Brandes, Cat. v.d. Tuuk III.331, 1401) do not lead us to any results, as they are not reliable and appear to have been put together arbitrarily (compare the date 1031 for Arjuna-vijaya, written under king Hayam Vuruk and dated some centuries earlier in order to conform to an ascending series!). Therefore nothing

hinders us from dating Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin in the first half of the Kadiri period and to consider it contemporary to the above mentioned poems. If we also look at its contents, the work also fits into this dating. Its Viṣṇuite character shows that its proper place is next to the Bhārata-yuddha, in which the Kṛṣṇa legend also plays a big role. The whole Kadiri dynasty must further have been Viṣṇuite, as is proved by some seals and other things. To make the language a criterion for exact dating is as little possible as a comparison with the documents because even the kakavin's archaic expressions and forms are very normal.

Thus we have no other choice but to accept the fact that it came into being at the same time as the Bhārata-yuddha. As a possible time of its composition one can presume the change from the 11th to the 12th century.

(90) H. Kern, Rāmāyaṇa.

H. Kern, Zang I-VI van het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyana in vertaling, VG. 10.77-142.

H. Kern, Proeve uit het Oud-Javaansche Ramayana, VG. 9.251ff.

H.H. Juynboll, Vertaling van Sarga VII van het Oud-Javaansche Ramayana, Bijdr. 78.373-384.

H.H. Juynboll, Vertaling van Sarga VIII van het Oud-Javaansche Ramayana, Bijdr. 79.569-590.

(91) G.F. Winter, Romo, VGB.21.2 One of the most important editions is perhaps the short prehistory of Rahvana, which is totally missing in the Ramāyaṇa Kakavin as it is known to us. It is, however, not impossible that Yasa di Pura had a version with the introduction. That he used the Kakavin for his adaptation is clearly to be seen in passages like: "kadi ta karem rikan tasik ikan suraloka kabeh" Kakavin 5:89; "Sri bupati myarsa viku denyanlin tumunkul tananucap sakin gun in tresna putraneki" pag. 13 and "mankana lin maharsi narendra trsnā temen ri san rāma ndā tarsahur tumankul" Kakavin 1.45.

The Serat Rama too we need not take up in our research due to many deviations, which according to Brandes, Sing. Mon.13* "which owe their origin to misunderstandings". It does seem to have been the case. A few examples follow out of curiosity.

The female demon Tāṭakā is called by Yasa di Pura Tatakakya. Even the Tāṭakeyā from the Bāla-rāmāyana cannot help us here. Thus the solution is given by Kakavin 2.23, where one reads: "Vadvā niran prabhu daśāsya si tāṭakākyā". The suffix -ākhyā "named" has already been brought together completely with the name as can also be seen in 19.8: "ratag ta san mantri patih prahasta lavan mahāpārśva ghatodarākya ...". This could give

rise to the view that Mahāpārśva was also called Ghaṭodara, who is actually another rāksasa (compare also Nāgarakṛtāgama 46.1c). The two paṇḍitas Yogiśvara and Bhagavan Mintra on page 12 can also be explained from a passage in Kakavin 1.38: "ana sira gaḍhisuta ṛṣi yogiśvara lentapasvi rājarṣi/ viśvāmitra narannira ...". The 'len' was too strong for Yasa di Pura and he thus made two persons from it whereas mitra became mintra, just as Sītā became Sinta.

A no less beautiful a variant is that of Śabarī from Rām. 3.74. In Yasa di Pura this female ascetic has been changed into a pěksi, bird. There is also a Suvari branti which literally means "casuaries in the thorns of love". The Kakavin gives us the meaning. In 6.104 we read: "...irikan śavarī bratī..." and we now see the way, in which a woman doing penance (bratī) can take on the body of a bird! In the same way, the mountain Kuṭa rungu, which is elsewhere unknown, can be explained. In Yasa di Pura we read: "memba sakin vukir citra/ kuṭa rungu ana vukir den parani/..." and at another place: "in kuṭa rungu vus prapta" (42 and 30). The Kakavin gives the correct solution with: "rikanan giri citrakūṭa rungu" (6.1).

But enough of this. From one thing or the other it may become clear, what we think of Serat Rama. (By the way, I would like to take this opportunity of correcting an inexactitude in Winter's introduction to the work. He says "He gave Romo to understand that he was called Bathoro Sri" (II), in that he speaks about Dhirgobahu, who must be identified with the long-armed (dīrghabāhu) Kabandha from Ramāyana 3.69-74. (In Rāmāyana Kakavin 6.76 he is also already called so). In the text, however, we have a "insun anak batara sri". Also in the Kakavin he is the son of Śrī and not Śrī himself. This is hence not "exactly correct" as Brandes called it.

It is surprising that D.L. Mounier in his excerpt from Romo (Serat Rama) in Indische Magazijn I/2 (1844).180 makes the same mistake, which he must have taken over from Winter, although his edition was published only in 1846-47. According to the same journal p.262 Mounier was a student of Winter.

- (92) The only published Rama-lakon is the lakon Rama saveg wonten in Mantilidireja (see H.H. Juynboll, Indonesische en achterindische Tooneelvoorstellingen uit het de Ramayana, Bijdr. 54.501-565). It is said that the more common Rama-lakon like Rama Tambak, Anoman duta etc. are not available in manuscripts at Leiden.
- (93) H.H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. II.53. Prof Dr. G.A.J. Hazeu was friendly enough to let me have a copy of the Serat Kanda, Bat. Hs. 7.

There is also a Malayan Serat Kanda, but this clearly shows that it is a translation of a Javanese original (see Ph. S. Van Ronkel, Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. 7).

- (94) H.H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. 2.68, 74.
- (95) H.H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. 2.57, 67.
- (96) P.P. Roorda Van Eysinga, Geschiedenis van Sri Rama.
- (97) W.G. Shellabear, Sri Rama, JSBRAS. 17.87ff.
- (98) The Batavian manuscripts, which D. Gerth Van Wijk mentioned in TBG. XXXIV 401ff. "Iets our verschillende maleische redacties van den Seri Rama". Thereon the Leiden Codices 1689 and 1936.
- (99) The following table can help in the comparison of the places in R and S. The numbers in front of the colon, refer to the page, others to the lines.

numbers in mone			
R	S	R	S
	1:1-51:11	59:8-63:17	79:8-81:1;
2:1-5:15	51:11-54:8	63:17-85:6	Ben - Living
5:15-7:27		85:6-101:25	81:1-88:10
7:27-17:4	54:8-61:16	101:25-103:20	92:6-95:14
17:4-18:2	_	103:20-104:24	
18:2-20:24	61:16-63:1	104:24-107:24	88:10-92:6
20:24-27:26	_	107:24-109:28	
27:26-29:24	63:1-67:17	109:28-120:5	95:14-106:14
29:24-34:15		120:5-128:3	
34:15-34:26	67:17-68:1	128:3-151:7	106:14-187:9
34:26-35:16	-		187:9-201:7
35:16-35:24	68:1-68:10	151:7-159:21	201:7-218:23
	68:10-69:15	159:21-161:21	
35:24-41:11	69:15-74:22	161:21-173:27	218:23-274:4
41:11-59:8		_	274:4-285:3
	74:22-79:8;		

(100) I transcribe Ravana, although the last third syllable shows a tendency to become short, when the original word had a long vowel due to the lack of an accent as is the case in Indonesian languages. In connection with the neighbouring consonants we would expect Duvana or Ruvana, the first form actually does occur (Sri Rama, ed. Maxwell). In Javanese the a is retained together with a h so that the word becomes Rahvana.

The transcription of Malayan words and names is very troublesome. One can see the tremendous lack of any plan while writing the names. Compare what Van Ronkel said at the third Congress der Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, about the use of two different

d's (Verslag 27-28). I shall try to give reasons for my transcriptions in the most important cases.

The story begins at the point where the Rāmayana narrates about the origin of the rākṣasas and the birth of Rāvana and then immediately deviates from this (Uttarakānḍa).

- (101) Hs. 78 Batavia.
- (102) Sĕrandib or Sĕrandip, from Arabic Sirandib for Ceylon. Klinkert would like to derive it from the Sanskrit word Simhaladvipa. Ferrand vocalized the Arabic Sirandib according to Chinese Si-lan, in Chau Ju-kua 74 etc. and Si-louen-tie, "ancient pronunciation Si-lun-dep". (G. Ferrand, l'Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya, JA. 1922:80. VDT.3.63.)
- (103) Cod. 1936. Dati Kavacja from Nivatakavaca? In the Ranga Lave 11.191 "Ivir deca kavaca" (VDT. 2.213).
- (104) Compare the putting on board of evil spirits in a 'ghost ship' lancan by the Malayans. Skeat mentions a magic formula, in which Celebes is mentioned as the destination for the evil spirits (W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic, 435).
- (105) Ram. 7.10: He fasts also for a thousand years and sacrifices after each period of thousand years one of his ten heads in the fire.
- Mah. 3.274: He fasts for a thousand years standing on one foot between five fires. His brother Kumbhakarna carries out penance, by hanging his head downwards, just as Ravana does in the hikayats. See R. Schmidt, Fakire und Fakirtum, for these and similar forms of penances.
- (106) In the text Allah ta'ālā has been crossed out and replaced by devata, at other places by devata mulia raya.
- (107) Here we have kainderaan. For translating it is the world of spirits vide R.J. Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs, 43: "He (the Malay) peoples the regions of the air with spirits and fairies who dwell in distant realms known as keinderaan, where the great divinity Indra amuses himself with the heavenly nymphs". These spirits and elves are the indera's and mambans, ordinary spirits and no gods, as one could believe, if one investigates the name kainderaan. Indera Jata's sojourn in this heavenly sphere, which in India was the heaven of Indra, gives us however a very different meaning, as he was the victor over Indra. It is thus better to translate kainderaan as the heaven of Indera Jata rather than the heaven of Indera. The ancient Indian god Indra is not meant here at all. Thus the second part of the definition of Wilkinson is misleading.
- (108) Nila Utama or Nilotama, from Sanskrit Tilottamā, an apsaras, heavenly mymph. VDT. 3.700 explains this word from Javanese ni lotama or by the memory of Nila. In the hikayat we shall find many more names combined with nila, Nila Buta R 126, Nila Cakrava

R 68, Nila Purba R 20, Nila Angada R 136. In Maxwell's edition: Nila Komala 104, Nila is the name of a monkey king in the Ramayana.

- (109) I write Indera Jata according to the way it is written in Roorda's text with an alif in the penultimate syllable. The final t in S does not have any importance (cf. suvatu with such a final t. For the final a cf. Bengali Indrajita. The division of the name into two parts has been done as it occurs this way everywhere in the texts.
 - (110) R 148, Patala Mahi Rani: R.K. Pertala Maryan.
 - (111) R 142 Ganga Maha Sura. VDT. 4.826 Gangasura.
- (112) Probably Kaṭakin is the name of a mountain, of Sanskrit dictionaries (MW. 243). Often it is also written Katakina or Katakin. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 58.18, it is said that the Kaṭakasthalas lived in the Vindhya mountains together with the Kaṭṣkindhyas. Now Lagur (Lakur) Katagina (Katakin) is the land, which plays the same role in the hikayat as Kiṣkindhā, the country of the Kaṭṣkindhyas. Even if Kiṣkindhā or Kiṣkindhyā is not situated at the same place in the Rāmāyaṇa as the Kiṣkindhyā in the Purāṇas, but a confusion of the location is understandable. We do not get any more information from it about the importance of Lagur Katagina. It is very probable that the name was already known in India.
- (113) I shall come back to Biruhasya Purva, and Indéra Puri. What Ispaha Boga is supposed to be is not clear. Perhaps Boga is an addition and the well known city of Ispahan is perhaps meant here. In Malayan legends this city is mentioned as the place to which the snake from paradise went (R.J. Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs, 36). It is not impossible, but it is equally uncertain. A. Dozon says in his "Étude sur le roman malay de Sri Rama", JA. 1846:462: "The word Isfahaboga is not Malay, and, like several other names of persons or of places one comes across in the text, it appears to pertain to Persian or to some popular language of India".
 - (114) Bibu Sanam, Sanskrit Vibhīsaņa. Sura Pandaki, Sanskrit Śūrpaṇakhā.
- (115) I write Naran, differing from Narana in Shellabear's Introduction 190, as there is an alif after the first n in the word. Badanul is hence vocalized in S.
- (116) About the difference between foot-print and living being, which the Malayans even till to day consider while hunting, see W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic, 155ff.
- (117) Even if it was not noticed earlier, the heads make it quite clear that we had here head-hunting in its optimal form. Further there is only one mention of a cut off head, also in S 215.
 - (118) In the course of the story kandaraan is a kind of air vehicle, the particular

attribute of Indera Jata and not of Ravana, as one could expect from his chariot Puspaka. Perhaps the similarity between kainderaan and kandaraan is its cause.

- (119) S 51: Dastarata, son of Dasarata Raman, son of Dasarata Cakravat Serat, son of Nabi Adam.
- (120) For such an element in the legendary history of Kědah see Maron Mahavamsa, JSBRAS. 9.85, 86. There the place has been explained further through the falling down of an arrow. Compare R 103, 110, 111, also for the finding of drinking water.
- (121) The role which bamboo plays here, is known to the Malayans. See the material collected by G.A. Wilken VG 3.88A, 216. W.E. Maxwell sees in it a Buddhist influence (JRAS. 13.) Cf. JSBRAS. 9.91.
- of Seri Rama and Sita Devi, R 38. The latter consists of the procession to bring the bride home but here we are reminded of the Indian custom of going around the fire. In the description of Aja's marriage, there is no mention of how often it takes place (Kālidasa, Raghuvainsa, 7.24), but it is especially reported about Rāma's marriage that it took place three times (Rām. 1.73). This going around the fire is still done (E.Thurston, Ethnographic Notes, 1.15 where a heap of earth takes the place of the sacrificial fire). In Baldaeus we find the ceremony from the hikayat, reported for India. We read in the edition: A.J. de Jong, 80: "Rama . . . who married Sytha (and rode around the city with her according to the custom of the Benjanen)". The storeys of the palanquin are naturally only the different dimensions of the roof.
- (123) We do not find in Vālmīki any trace of the episode R 2-5, apart from a hint in Rām. 2.9 regarding the healing of Daśaratha by Kaikeyi. The story is continued in Rām. 1.8, naturally very different.
 - (124) Valmiki 2.63.
- (125) According to a remark in Codex 3248 made by Van der Tuuk in his own hand on the margin, Rama is depicted in Bali as green (wayang). In Bengal too he is green (J. Talboys Wheeler, History of India, 2.265. In the Upper Provinces, he is blue. In Valmiki he is green, syama (Ram. 3.17.8). In Java, he has a black face in wayang, which perhaps could go back to blue (H.H. Juynboll, Bijdr. 54.535 or white face 529).
- (126) There is no doubt about the fact that these names have to be pronounced. Thus as far as the names of the two brothers of Seri Rama are concerned, the correct pronunciation is important, is the view that the hikayat could go back to a Tamil origin, rests on such names. The alif is clearly present in the version. For our reading we have

S and further we find in the Javanese Codex 4085I Běrdana and Citradana, in the manuscript Batavia 7 (Sěrat Kanda), Canto 96: Běrdona and Citradona. From this the Tamilization becomes extremely doubtful. Citradana probably goes back to Sanskrit Śatrumardana another name for Śatrughna.

As far as the name of the daughter is concerned, we have here an example of how the sound of a name has managed to establish itself through generations. Everyone knows the name of Dasaratha's second wife Kaikeyi. When people saw in the hikayat a combination of sounds which looks similar to the word Kaikeyi and which was further the name of the daughter of the same Dasaratha, they did not hesitate to read something similar. They expected an e after the second k and actually read it as such. In actual fact no more is there than Kikuvi. One can even read Kekuvi. We shall see later that this name has a definite meaning and is not simply a corruption of Kaikeyi.

- (127) The tree-frog is considered in Buru island as the embodiment of two evil spirits skikit and gasit (G.A. Wilken, VG. 1.62). The story with the green frog occurs a second time in our story (R 73), and surprisingly even here there is a mention of Mandu Daki and a replacement. A third and a fourth time, in which a living being is made alive, the medium consists of a few blades of grass (R 59, 171). Here, however, there is no mention of Mandu Daki: Thus we cannot resist the temptation to see in the green frogs the soul animal of Mandu Daki.
- (128) Rām. 7.12 narrates that Rāvaņa received the daughter of Maya, Mandodari, as his wife. She was immediately given to him when he met Maya in the forest.
- (129) The names of the bird children are clear, although the relationship does not conform to that in Vālmīki. They are: Garuḍa, Sampātin and Jaṭāyu, his brother. The name of the father is completely a puzzle. Or should we read Subrisva, which is naturally possible and reminds one of Supārśva, Supāriśva in a Chalukyan inscription? Something else is remarkable, namely the mention of zaṅgi: Ethiopian, black, giant. Now the tree, on which Garuḍa makes a halt and which stands in the middle of the (world)-sea, is called Pauh jaṅgi (zaṅgi), coċo of the sea (W.W. Skeat, JSBRAS. 1898:20).

The fact that Garuda flew away with the moon is based on a false assumption. The word used is bulan, which is the translation of the Sanskrit word Soma, in its meaning of the moon. But Soma can also be the heavenly drink, amrta. In actual fact it was taken away by Garuda and not the moon (Mah. 1.32-35). It is at the same time, the episode, where Garuda becomes the vehicle of Viṣṇu, so that this combination is correct. It is uncertain, as to what is meant by Si Ranjak. One could perhaps think of Hiraṇyākṣa, which is phonetically quite possible. Baldaeus has the form Renniacxem which he took down

according to the pronunciation, thus hi has already fallen off. In its place it is very well possible that the Malayan si was substituted. One difficulty, however, is that in Viṣṇu's Varāhāvatāra, there is no mention of Garuda. In this avatāra, Viṣṇu defeats the giant Hiraṇyākṣa in the form of a boar (Varāha).

- (130) Compare the story of Floris and Blanceflor whereby Floris went in the same way into the presence of the latter.
 - (131) The most important thing in an Indonesian festival are the preparations.
- (132) Iron possesses a special power against the evil eye and unhappiness. S. Seligmann, Der böse Blick (the evil eye) 2.8: "Iron and steel protect from all kinds of magic".
 - (133) S 61: Mandu Dari puts two jewels into the casket.
- (134) In Hindu mythology, it is the snake Śeṣanāga, who stands particularly under Viṣṇu's orders. This snake carries the seven pātālas, nether regions, whereby perhaps the number seven originates in the hikayat. Perhaps it can also be explained by a snake with seven heads. The number of heads for snake kings in India is eight, so also with the Buddhists. In Nāgarakṛtāgama, the word "snake" stands in the candra sĕnkala (chronogram) for seven.
 - (135) Cf. R 132, 167. As a natural recognition of real or assumed motherhood.
- (136) Perhaps Manuram goes back to Sanskrit Manoramā, Mārkandeya-purāna 58.13. There a Kali is also mentioned. The story, however, does not seem to have any reference to that in the hikayat.
- (137) It is clear that we are not to think solely of a choice between pretenders. Doubtless there is a connection with the custom of planting a soul- or a fate-tree at the time of birth (G.A. Wilken, VG. 3.301-304). In practice such a tree has mostly become the tree of old age.
- (138). A ruvan is the place between two rows of pillars which are embedded beneath a building. In the Menankabau region it is between every fourth pillar in a Malayan house. A balai, an open building of 70 ruvan, is thus a very big audience hall. The number of ruvan of such a building depends on the rank of the owner.
- (139) This fact is found in Rām. 7.19, where a king of Ayodhyā, Anaranya is mentioned, who was defeated by Rāvaṇa. The same prophecy which we find in the hikayat, is recorded there.
 - (140) The purpose of this penance was to obtain supernatural means of fighting.
- (141) The testing of marriage candidates begins in a certain way at this juncture. But in Valmiki this whole procession does not have anything to do with Sītā.
- (142) The company goes on this way three times. This lack of exactness is perhaps supposed to contribute to the greater fame of Seri Rama.

- (143) In S the rhinoceros is called Gi Ganda and the dragon is called Suli Nagini.
- (144) A well-known comparison for some one who wants to do something, which is beyond his power. Compare R. Van Eck, Balische spreekwoorden, TBG. 18.173: kunan-kunan hanarun sasih "the firefly which compares itself to the moon", cabol hanunkap lanit "a dwarf who wants to catch the air".
- (145) The story of the crow which does not occur in R, but has its parallel in R 95 at the proper place, where we do not find anything similar in S.
- (146) It is a widely spread custom to hide the bride (E. Westermarck, The history of human marriage, 421). Laksemana gets the role of the "best man", as in further events Laksemana always acts as a rescuer and manages to bring everything in order.
- (147) I have referred earlier to the difference between the marriage of Dasarata, Ravana and Seri Rama. In the case of the first two, the marriage lasted for forty days, after the bride had become the possession of the man, in the case of the latter an auspicious time was carefully chosen: the time of the waxing moon. The preparations also lasted for fifteen days. When we consider that in the hikayat such things are dealt with in a stereotyped way, then this difference must have some special meaning.
- (148) The story of the princess is narrated extensively in S. Unfortunately the names do not offer much help. Besides they deviate from each other in the text. To begin with, the country of each prince is mentioned and thereafter the name. Thus we read of a prince of Maha Mahrat, called Berma Rajadiraja. Another is the prince of Lupadan, a third of Lu (Lav or Lo), in R Lurah. He is called Trilok, in S Lok. A fourth one is called Indera Vadi. There is nothing of this episode in the Ramayana.
- (149) The name of the Wind-god, who must be meant here, is not very clear. R mentions at another place Bayu Vita (u). The change of y and b is well known. Further in S, it is clearly written bata (u, i). Thus there are several possibilities. Or perhaps we have here Old Javanese Bāyubrata (VDT. 4.1021), which is however not very probable, or it is a coming together of bayu plus itu, or the word goes back to Sanskrit Vāyupatha, through the wind (wind-way). Or is it a mixture of Vāyu and Vāta, both names for the wind. This whole episode does not occur in R and also does not fit in there in the course of events.
- (150) In the Rāmāyana Sasak the same reason is given (H.H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. 2.65, Codex 4446).
- (151) This manner of fighting with arrows which produce snakes, reksasas, mountains, rains, and lightning, which however neutralize each other's effect, is typical for the battles of heroes, who possess sekti, supernatural power. It occurs again and again in Javanese literature. Already in Valmiki's Ramayana Rama's arrows are possessed of magic,

- 1.27, 28. In his fight with Mārīca etc., he uses a fire-arrow, astram āgneyam, 1.30.22, and a wind-arrow, vāyavyam, 1.30.23. The Indonesian role of the arrows had thus already developed in India, as we read in E. Moor, Hindu Pantheon, 277, that Rāvaṇa's arrows divided themselves during their flight. The parts changed themselves into snakes. The same thing happened with Rāma's arrows which produced Garuḍas, arch-enemies of the snakes.
- (152) The course of the battle shows bhakta influence, which is in contradiction to what Gerth Van Wijk remarks about the receding of Rāma's Visņu-character (TBG.34.402).
- (153) It is important to note that neither here nor the first time when Balia Dari expressed her wish, is there any mention of a banishment. In S one searches in vain the whole episode of the desired coronation and the opposition of Balia Dari.
- (154) All in all this cremation is typically Indian, as one would expect. "The feeding of the Brahmans" speaks volumes!
 - (155) The arrow "menjulurlah saperti naga" appeared as a snake (from a cave).
- (156) Even the measurements are given: four depa broad and three hasta thick. Perhaps one can see a connection with the episode of the nisada-chief from Ram. 2.50-53. There is mention of a crossing of a chieftain, but not of a fish. If this is true, then the profession of the nisadas has remained the same through the centuries, as Manu himself wrote about their occupation of "killing fish" (R. Fick, Die soziale Gliederung, 207).
- (157) S 79: Ravana has the desire to see the wives of the Sun-god, in the lakon (H.H. Juynboll, Bijdr. 54) he wanted to have vidadaris (heavenly mymph). Compare Ram. 7.24.
- (158) In S Sura Pandaki's son is already grown up, and goes without the causes mentioned in R into the bamboo in order to carry out penance. There is also nothing about his teacher.
- (159) Cf. Rām. 3.2, the meeting with the giant Viradha. This name has been transferred to the resi (one of the Rām. 3.1): Virata Seķti (R 56).
- (160) The third of the kingdoms independent of Ravana (S 4). The first two are mentioned in the beginning of the hikayat, the third we know of the monkey-kings Balia and later Sugriva, whereas the actual story of Seri Rama is that of the fourth kingdom,

(161) The power of being able to fly through the air, which Valmiki gives only to Hanuman and the raksasas, becomes a typical characteristic of all monkey-kings in the hikayat.

(162) We read of a fight between Rāvaṇa and Vālin in Rām. 7.34, and there is also mention of a sea. Rāvaṇa is not thrown into the sea but his servant Mārīca and this also does not take place in this episode, but through Rāma in Rām. 1.30, 3.38. Compare also R 81-84.

(163) Hanuman, who brings a mountain, in the figure which occurs three times R 72, 163, S 200. Further he hurls mountains and uses them as a means of fighting.

(164) A small box with a miraculous stone, which protects the bearer from burning and drowning when it is kept in the mouth (Klinkert).

(165) Juynboll, Bijdr. 54.518, represents the story, as if Anjani had turned herself into a fish, which is not correct, as one sees.

(166) With regard to Anjani's open mouth, I should like to point out that in Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, II/2.513, Vayu the god, who makes Afijana pregnant has to be represented with open mouth. The whole episode is perhaps a coming together of Ram. 1.48 and 7.35.

(167) From this it is not at all clear as to why and how Hanuman is a monkey, where as in the story which appears in S it is very clear. It is slightly clear in Rām. 7.35-37.

(168) That Hanuman was born on Friday, hari juma'at, the day of Mohammadan worship, at 12 o'clock noon, is supposed to mean that the monkey is an extraordinary being, as will now be read in the following part of the text. His white skin colour, which is later mentioned in R 121, points to a special being especially in face of the worship which albinos get in several parts of the archipelago (G.A. Wilken, VG. 4.280). It is remarkable that our text mentions several times the comets, which come out of Hanuman's mouth (R 79 twice, 121) as a certain tribe of the eastern archipelago connects the albinos and their birth with stars and even with comets (G.A. Wilken, VG. 4.280).

(169) Once again the sun stands still for an hour. Codex 1689 mentions this in the story of Hanuman and his bringing the medicinal herbs for Laksemana (R 163, S 231). Hanuman requests the sun, to stand still till he returns again to Laksemana. as he would die otherwise (cf. Ram. 7.35).

(170) He carried out penance there (R 63). A bamboo is a particularly fitting place for this because of the connection with sanctity which this plant has and which has its

origin in totemistic connotations. G.A. Wilken, VG. 3.88a, 216. Cf. also the resi in the tree of R 7 and Hanuman in R 74.

- (171) From here onwards the story of Ram. 3.17 is followed "from a distance".
- (172) Tuñjuk here means: threatening. But Sita Devi's fear is more due to the fact that Sura Pandaki is pointing to her face. The head is the seat of the soul and the Indonesians do not easily accept an insult to it. It would be better to interpret more into the threatening gesture of the first two fingers than in our threatening, holding-up of the first finger. We would not be very far from the truth, if we presume, that there is a certain magical effect which is to be seen here. The stretching out of the middle finger by the Romans was both an expression of the deepest scorn and the greatest insult, as also threatening of the evil eye (S. Seligmann, Der böse Blick, 2.184, 216).
- (173) On page 146 we have the nose and the ears, which Laksemana is supposed to have cut off. Apparently there is no idea here that this fact robbed her of her magic powers, at least we do not find any thing written about it. Baldaeus, while speaking of Laksemana, reports something different: "and cuts off her nose and ears, in which she had her power" (ed. A.J. de Jong 87).
- (174) In R she is called Përjangi Sura and Mahaloka, in S 83 Taki and Martanja. The first name is changed in R, so in R 94 also Prabu Jangi Sura, but in R 95 Prajangi Sura.
- (175) It is not quite clear to me as to what is the importance of the piece of beef. It is written: sagumpal dagin lembu. Perhaps the sanctity of the cows as preached by the Hindus is meant here. It is a great sin to kill a cow, without the idea of sacrificing it (M. Muusses, Koekultus bij de Hindoes, 68ff.). Although the piece of meat in question is meant for the sacrificial fire, yet it is being used with the purpose of disturbing the sacrifice.
- (176) S. Seligmann, Der böse Blick (the evil eye), 1.335: "going around or riding around an object is an ancient proceedure which we find among the Indians and the Celts. The meaning of this was most probably to surround the object with a magic circle and thus gain power over it, but at the same time to keep away all harm and evil from it".
- (177) The idea is not unusual that the soul has its seat in the extremities like the tips of the fingers (wings) and toes. G.A. Wilken, VG. 3.448A, 143 gives several examples for it, whereby these places also serve the soul as an exit.
 - (178) In contrast to the forty days, mentioned a few lines earlier.
 - (179) Rām. 4.59?
- (180) For the Malays: "A great range which serves as a 'wall' (dindin) to the earth, and keeps off both excessive winds and beasts of prey. This wall, however, is being bored

through by people called Yajuj and Majuj (Gog and Magog) and when they succeed in their task the end of all things will come". W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic 2. More in R.J. Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs, 33.

(181) The narration of Sugriva is incorrect to the extent that he himself had given rise to Balia's anger by being in a hurry to close the cave and later to taking over the reigns

of Balia's kingdom. About all this, however, he keeps silent.

(182) Cf. Rām. 7.32. We are supposed to deduce from this that we have here the story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya before us.

(183) S 100 only talks of the red colours and keeps quiet over an akar kayu.

(184) A beautiful example of fire (Radiance) as representation of magical energy, in the same way the radiating light of Sita Devi R 18, the fire emitting from Jentayu's beak R 99, the flames issuing from Seri Rama's arrow R 133, etc.

- (185) It is perhaps not completely ridiculous to imagine here that the soul leaves the body at the fingertips. As long as Seri Rama keeps this position of the body closed, by holding Balia's hand with his, soul cannot leave the body. As soon as he lets the hand go off, Balia can die. We have here perhaps the opposite of that what is reported by Bastian about the Macassars (G.A. Wilken, VG. 3.488A, 143).
- (186) I shall quote fully this remarkable iconographic passage: "akan maha bisnu itu tandanya kapalanya tiga dan tanannya empat itulah tandannya dan suvatu tahannya měměgan tunkat dan suvatu tanannya měměgan buna vijaya dan suvatu tanannya měnu(?) mpah bumi". Unfortunately the paragraph is apparently not in order, as only three of the four arms are mentioned unless it is meant to denote that there is nothing in the fourth hand. Codex 2348 has the same reading but Codex 1689 mentions on page 269 of part 1 line 5: "adapun yan maha bisnu itu varna tubuhnya saperti zamrut dan saperti varna daun kayukayuan dan kapalanya tiga sahadan tahannya empat pada suvatu cakra daripada intan dan suvatu tahannya měměgah buha těratai putih dan suvatu tahannya měni(?)mpa bumi denan saisinya adapun kanaikannya maha bisnu merak emas . . .". Even here one of the hands has not been dealt with. The literal translation of the both the passages is: As far as Maha Bisnu is concerned, his characteristics are his three heads and four arms. These are thus his characteristics and a hand holds a club, one hand holds the flower vijaya, and one hand? the earth (R). The body-colour of Maha Bisnu is like emerald and like the colour of tree leaves. He has three heads and four hands, a hand has the bejewelled cakra and one hand holds a white lotus and one hand? the earth with everything that is on it. Maha Bisnu's vehicle is the golden peacock (1689). Perhaps we must also read menimpa in R and translate it as: resting on or something similar. But I have not been able to be sure about it. The flower vijaya is the "never-fading flower that could bring the dead to life" (R. J.

Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs, 49).

The paragraph in Codex 1689 gives at the same time the explanation of the golden peacock of R 23, as Garuda Viṣṇu's vehicle and thus he must be meant with merak emas (golden peacock).

- (187) In Codex 1936 Balia comes back later as a result of the hate, that his son Angada has towards Seri Rama, because he killed his father (Balia). See SK. 80 footnote.
- (188) The arrows of Seri Rama mostly play the role of the Deus ex machina. The same is true here. If we, however, look at the different weapons, which Rama received from Viśvāmitra (Ram. 1.27, 28), we observe several names, which point to very different qualities. Thus apart from the two already mentioned above, agneya and vayavya, we have varṣaṇa, that which causes rain, the śoṣaṇa, that which dries it up again, the madana and unmadana, that which makes drunk and again kampana, something that which causes an earthquake etc.
- (189) The metamorphoses into a golden fly or a green fly, Hanuman R 163, common fly Han. S 234, ant Han. S 234, beetle Han. S 234, bird Han. S 181, cicak Han. R 149 are strange, as they are valid for all animals which can be considered as soul animals, and in this way they show an extensive spread "Above all the soul manifests itself in the form of different animals, among them the firefly, cricket, butterfly, bird, mouse, snake and the lizard are the most important" (A. C. Kruyt, Het Animisme, 171). Others add the following: beetle, bee, cat and weasel (Schultze). It is interesting to note that it is always Hanuman, who transforms himself except this particular place R 126 where Nila Buta does the same.
- (190) Probably as a mark of recognition of a blood relation, so later (R 132) Hanuman sucks the milk of Sita Devi.
- (191) Codex 1689 mentions that he killed on the way a few raksasas on an island in the sea. This resembles more the jump in Ram. 5.1.
 - (192) Cf. R 18, 167.
 - (193) Hanuman thus comes to sit higher than the king, which is against the etiquette.
- (194) The Adam's Peak has been assimilated by the Mohammedans together with the Adam's Bridge in their legends, in order to give some importance to Nabi Adam. The Adam's Bridge is better known than that of Rāma near Rāmeśvaram. The belas tapak nabi adam is mentioned in Ceylon in no less than three different stories. Firstly with Hanuman's jump, then with a legend of Lord Buddha (Śrīpada or Buddhapāda, which is also found in Burma in the east of Membon and in Siam, Phrah Bāt near Lopburi and Sukhodaya), and thirdly with Adam.

- (195) In Malay the Sanskrit yojana has become: the width of the face. The meaning as given in Klinkert's dictionary is misleading, as the Sanskrit word yojana is derived from the word yuj, connected with yoke, and has the meaning of the distance that can be covered by a team of bullocks.
 - (196) One of the daily occupations of a resi?
- (197) Cf. the lakon Bima Suci (A. C. Vreede, Cat. Jav. Hss. 248). Here it is Bima who goes in search of the water of life. Drona tells him that it is to be found in the depths of the seas. Perhaps we may presume here, especially in R 140, an influence of the story of Alexander. In the Greek version the water of life is a well, in the Hebrew version a river (I. Friedlander, Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman).
- (198) Called Sukasarana. In Rām. 6.25 there are two, Suka and Sārana, who are the councillors of Rāvaṇa in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra.
 - (199) Compare S 4.
 - (200) Compare R 74.
 - (201) We do not learn anything about the shooting on the payun (umbrella)
 - (202) Cf. R 89.
 - (203) S 168: Badisa, also Bada Bisya.
 - (204) Cf. S 4.
 - (205) S: Tamnat Ganga.
 - (206) R 131.
- (207) It is to be noted that the reksasas and such persons are almost always killed by a shot in the leher, neck (R. 58, 146, 150, S 192, R 156, 161, 162). Ravana's vulnerable spot is also to be found in the same region. It is also the same with Jagini (R 28). As against this Laksemana is fatally wounded by a shot in the hulu hati, stomach (R 162). In the Rāmāyana we do not find the neck as the vulnerable spot, although it is again mentioned in the Rāmāyana Kakavin.
- (208) In R it is not as clearly mentioned as in S, that the whole scene takes place in the underworld. There is no mention in R about gaining entry to it through a lotus-flower. In S a certain Amir Arab also plays a certain role, he fights with Hanuman, whereby both go through transformations (184). In Codex 1689 the name is slightly different, Mirab or Merab, and is killed by Hanuman. His soul is to be found in a frog, who is sitting in a small container, in an iron casket in a godown, in the cave of a mountain.
- (209) In particular, it is the mechanical, automatic effect of sacrifices, which means success for the opponent who disturbs them. The same is true of penance. If one succeeds in carrying out a particular form of penance during a particular time or performs a sacrifice which is often expensive and time-consuming, without the smallest mistake or the smallest neglect, then the concerned god has to grant a boon often against his wishes. There is little

mention of a favourable attitude towards the person, carrying out the sacrifice. No importance is attached to that, for this reason disturbance in the very last minute can make everything null and void, which need not be the case if the god in question would be favourably disposed towards the person carrying out the sacrifice. Sacrifice and penance have thus greater power over the gods.

- (210) The farewell is a very beautiful scene in the hikayat and deserves to be read.
- (211) It is clear that here the tying of the hair and their untying by hitting on the head must have some connection with the belief popular among many peoples that there is a close relationship between hair and soul, between head and soul. As far as hitting on the head is concerned, it is well known that Indonesians even to day consider it to be one of the most dangerous forms of insults. The tying of the hair could have the meaning that when the hair gets pulled out, while loosening it, the soul can slip out completely or partly? (Codex 1689:422).
- (212) Ravana is thus made in different ways "powerless" for the battle. In all probability what is meant here is not his sword for fighting but a sword of the soul, a kind of vessel of the soul, like the golden fish of the Shair Bidasari, in which the spirit of princess Bidasari was kept and through which it was possible to gain power over her life (cf. G. A. Wilken, VG. 3.289-309). This becomes more probable when we learn that in the Siamese Ramakien Hanumat steals the life of Ravana, which was kept in a golden box. As a result Ravana lost his power (K. Döhring, Art and Art-Industry in Siam, text 71ff.).
- (213) The bezoar is normally not a special means of fertility but as Kruyt has clearly stated: "the petrification, composition of the soul material" (Animisme 203). As a result a bezoar, which is found in an animal that is known for its fertility and gets the property of being able to make people fertile as well.
- (214) S: Tabalavi, which is probably based on the wrong reading of the letter j but even the Tilavi probably goes back to Nilavi (VDT. 2.183) in which can be seen the Sanskrit Lava.
 - (215) See R 151note.
- (216) R 173 narrates as follows: "... thus the story is narrated, which was told by the historians about Maharaja Seri Rama and Laksemana, whose names are known all over from the land of the Klingalese and the Siamese to the inhabitants of Basrah upto the Turks, even upto the Dutch". The last "upto" has clearly to be taken very literally!

(217) In the Siamese Ramakien king Thotsa Kan (Sanskrit Daśakantha, Rāvaṇa) gives his daughter Me Matxa, the queen of the fish, the order to destroy the dam. The fish, on her orders, take the stones in their mouths and carry them away. When Ha:numan sees her, he falls in love with her and she with him. As a result of their love, the fish stop destroying the dam. Their son is called Matxanu, a monkey with the tail of a fish (K. Döhring, Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam, T. 141).

(218) In the Siamese Ramakien Sukhacan (Śuka and Sāraṇa, here united in one person), is the one who has to change himself into a pseudo-Nang Sida (Sītā), because he is being punished for cowardice. He then stands on the chariot behind Inthaxit (Indrajit)

and is beheaded there in front of the opponent (K. Döhring, o.c.).

(219) W.E. Maxwell mentions in JSBRAS. 1886:87 a story of Rāma, which begins with the birth of Hanumat and ends with the capture of Lankā. I am giving here an excerpt, in which it is possible to identify easily the different episodes on the basis of R and S. The story is of recent date. (The page nos. are given as in the translation in the Journal).

89 Sri Rama, king of Tanjon Buna, is married to Sakutum Buna Satanke (Sita). They do not have any children. The king sends for his elder brother Laksamana, who is 92 In a trance the latter says that the queen should go on a living in a far-off place. journey over the seas but wants her not to take a bath in the sea on a particular island. 93 Seven boats are built in seven days by twentyfour people. 97 After further seven days of preparation the ships depart. 98 The journey lasts for seven days and seven nights. The queen bathes and turns into a she-monkey, Sri Rama into a monkey. 99 Laksamana takes them down from the trees in which they are enjoying themselves. After taking a second bath they are again human beings. 100 A monkey is born: Kěra Kěcil imam Těrganga (S 74-77). After seven days the monkey is fully grown. For three months and ten days Sri Rama is sad at the sight of his son. Finally he decides to get rid of him. ganga goes away and comes to Shah Numan (Hanuman!) and sits down on his throne. There he develops an enormous appetite. After that the king sends him to the mountain Ingil Bëringil, but he warns him about the heat of the sun. Inspite of it he is burnt (R 79).

In Tahvil Shah Kobad is ruling, and the burnt monkey falls down near his daughter. Her name is Renek Jintan. 103 Shah Numan looks for the runaway monkey and asks the Sun for advice. The latter brings back the lost monkey again. 104 On the following day all the monkey-kings came together in the planes of Anta Beranta in order to worship Terganga. Then follow their names.

Maharaja Duvana (Rāvana) of Kacapuri is in love with Sekutum Buna Satankei. Through magic he goes to Tanjun Buna and causes Satankei to become ill. 105 He comes in the form of a golden goat which is followed by Sri Rama. 107 Duvana now goes to the princess and opens through magic the twelve locks and abducts her. Sri Rama and Laksamana go in search of her and go around for three months and ten days. Finally they come to Ingil Bëringil and meet the monkey. 108 Këra Këcil (Tërganga) promises help, on the condition that he is allowed to eat from the same plate as Sri Rama (R 130). After that he tries to jump from a tree, which breaks as a result, then from a plain which becomes like a desert. 109 Then from a mountain where a resi Jin with seven heads is carrying out penance in order to get Shah Kobad's daughter. But here too he has no success. Then again he tries to jump from the plain Anta Bëranta, and finally from Sri Rama's shoulders. Rama sinks upto his knees in the ground.

In Kacapuri, he sees twentyfour young damsels, taking out water from the well. From them he learns that Duvana has discovered that the abducted girl is no other than his daughter and that he cannot marry her. She thus lives separated from others. throws a ring into the bath-water (R 131). After that follow their meeting and then he goes back to Duvana's garden and destroys a mango tree and a coconut palm. In the struggle that follows, he takes on the form of a bull. Further episodes are also there, when he is captured and his tail is set on fire. 112 Without any mention of the dam, the battle starts after Terganga's return. Laksamana is wounded and healed by Terganga with a herb from the Ingil Beringil. Finally Duvana is killed. 113 After the victory there are big festivities, where Sri Rama recognizes Terganga as his son. An envoy is sent to Shah Kobad to ask for the hand of his daughter for the monkey. The marriage is celebrated in Tahvil. On the third day the monkey turns into a beautiful prince, when he is going to his wife at night. The next morning he again puts on the skin which he had taken off the evening 114 The oldest maid servant of the princess secretly burns the skin after which before. Terganga remains a human being. His name is now Mamban Bonsu and he succeeds Shah Kobad.

The resi is not satisfied with this and comes with an army to demand the wife of Terganga. The army is put to flight by a swarm of birds, made of paper.

The Rama legend appears to be known also to the Achehnese. This was not at my

disposal (C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, 2.157, cf. also 2.148).

(220) H. H. Juynboll, Bijdr. 54.546. I should, however, like to immediately remark that I do not completely accept the conclusions of Juynboll.

(221) From this group, I consider the Old Javanese Uttarakāṇḍa, a prose paraphrase

of the Sanskrit Uttarakanda (VDT 1.187).

(222) Among these we also have the Rāmāyana Sasak, Rama Tambak and Rama Nitis (H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. 2.65, 68, 74).

We should also consider as belonging to this group, the Serat Kanda in Malay (Ph. S. van Rongkel, Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. 7ff. no. 209). The compiler of the catalogue has already noted numerous Javanisms. Names like Kertanadi, Ratu Embok, Logava, and Murdaka leave no doubt about their Javanese origin.

- (223) In the collections of the University Library of Leiden, there are very few and relatively unimportant Rama-lakons. Codex 1979:290 Lakon Lahire Dasamuka, which deals with the birth of Dasamuka and what took place before that. Codex 1979:292 Lakon Dasamuka tapaturu, dealing with the handing over of the pseudo-Mandu Dari to Dasamuka, who is here called Devi Rago. Codex 18 (Bijbelgenootschap) no. 27, Lahire Indrajit, wherein Dasamuka takes away from Indra a vidadari and begets son Indrajit, Idem 28 Lokapala, a kingdom whose king Visravana was conquered by Dasamuka. Idem 29 Sasrabahu and his subjugation by Dasamuka. Idem 30 Baban Sumantri, the fight of the brother of Sasrabahu against Dasamuka. Idem 31 Sugriva Subali, the story of cupu manik astagina. H. H. Juynboll "Indonesische en Achterindische tooneelvoorstellingen", Bijdr. 54.501ff. has edited and translated 'The Lakon Rama saweg vonten Mantili direja' which starts off after the marriage of Rama. He further mentions there the Legutama with the prehistory of Sugriva and Subali 532, the Lembu Sura in negara Guva Kiskenda, with the story of the buffalo 533, the Rama Tambak 534-536, the Hanuman Duta 534, 535, Brubok 535, Rama Gandrun 536. We do not gather very much from this about their contents, which is all the more a pity as the manuscripts are not found in Holland. I have therefore not been able to consult the really popular lakons like Rama Tambak and Hanuman Duta.
- (224) J. L. Brandes, TBG. 32.368ff. and Pararaton edition 209-211. Also see Husein Djajadiningrat, Critische Beschouwing der Sadjarah Banten, 301. G. A. J. Hazeu, Inaugureele Rede, 5.
- (225) H. H. Juynboll, Het Javansche Tooneel, 29, 30: "A few fighting puppets are almost always spurred on by the dalang through a song which praises their knowledge to the skies and is called Suluk. Such a song normally consists of a verse from an Old Javanese

epic, especially from the Bharatayuddha.

- (226) S 7: Dati Kavaca.
- Codex 4084 (Sĕrat Kanda).54, Sumanli, son of Subana. He is Sumāli in Sanskrit.
- (228) S 9 calls him Ganda Sura. It appears to me however that he is a different person, who marries somebody else.
- (229) Cf. S 51: Dasarata Cakravat Serat. Cf. Dasserat bei Baldaeus, ed. A. J. de Jong, 83.
- (230) S 5: Berma Raja, the grandsather of Ravana. S is silent on the prehistory given here.
 - (231) S 8: Měntěri Syaksya. Suksara (Suksra) in VDT. 3.131, uncle of Ravana.
 - (232) Also Bruvaskandi. In R: Ispahaboga.
- (233) R 75: San Pěrdana, father of Běgavan Gutama and doorkeeper (pěnungu pintu) of Dasarata Maharaja, son of Dasarata Cakravati.
 - (234) Sĕnuk, tapir.
 - (235) S 9: Balikas, nephew of Dati Kavaca.
- (236) This is thus the episode of Dati Kavaca's death through Citrabaha, which had a passing reference in S 9.
- (237) In the lakon Lahire Dasamuka (Codex 1979:290) the name of Citrabaha: Esrava, who marries Sukesi, the daughter of Sumali. Thus Esrava is the Běgavan Sarva of SK.
- (238) Sarva, according to Codex 4084, is the son of resi Tama and Sarti, and marries Sukesi and begets from her Dasamuka, Kumbakarna, Sarpakanaka and Vibisana. In Codex 4085I also he marries her and gets the same children. There he is the son of Bramaraja of Indrapura.
 - (239) Kumbakarna.
 - (240) Elsewhere Cibisana and Tvibisana.
 - (241) S begins at this point. No boat is mentioned here.
 - (242) S 2: Nabi Adam.
 - (243) Cf. Ram. 7.16, where Ravana gets his name from Siva.
 - (244) Cf. S 3, 4.
- (245) In the course of the text, to begin with Rahvana and Dasamuka are used alternately. Later he is called Dasamuka only. In order to avoid any confusion, I am retaining the name Rahvana.
- (246) As Sakisar has to be identified with Menteri Syaksya from S, in the same way Bisavarna can be identified with Naran (S 7). Bisavarna is naturally Sanskrit Vaiśravana, Viśravana.
 - (247) The preceding part is a condensed reading of S 9-51.

- (248) This must be a scribal error, Bergava, Rama was not an incarnation of a monkey and one would actually expect that San Pardana as a white monkey incarnated himself in the white monkey Hanuman. Cf. SK34 and for the whole episode R 22 and Ram. 7.19.
- (249) R begins at this point. In the Malayan Sérat Kanda (SKM) there are two brothers, Bana, the son of Ratu Embok and Bégavan Ravatadmaja (1.328). In the hikayats there is mention only of one king, Dasarata. A further proof of the Javanese origin of the SKM.
- (250) Vatu Gunun, son of Purbenkara (Tugena) and of Devi Sinta, runs away from his mother, at the age of five. He was adopted by the sage Buyut Trakyana under the name Sela-argga. He carries out penance in a tree. His penance is disturbed. He fights with resi Tama and becomes king of Gilin Vesi. He marries his mother Devi Sinta incestuously, has 27 children from her, the vukus, comes in conflict with the gods, loses his sons and is killed by Visnu (SK 8-16). Vatu Gunun in his incarnation as Rahvana is the enemy of Rama-Visnu.
 - (251) Similarly in the case of Subali SK.55. Cf. R 100note.
- (252) Gajendra constructed a kědaton (palace) with the help of elephants, in Codex 3429a he himself is an elephant and ruled over a kingdom in Cěmpa. In this connection I would like to refer to the Malayan story of an elephant-kingdom on the borders of Siam (W.W. Skeat, Malay Magic, 151-153). Cf. Codex 4041 (Madurese) the Batuh Gunuń, in which the same episode occurs.
- (253) In connection with this Gutama, I would like to point to the possibility, that the name of the lakon Legutama is not derived, as Juynboll opined, from the Sanskrit name for Rama, Raghuttama, but from this Gutama who plays a role in it, whereas Rama does not appear here at all (Bijdr. 54.352).
 - (254) SKM 1.186 Citravati, the incarnation of Devi Sri Měndań.
 - (255) SKM 1.313 Mahesapati. Ram. 7.31 Mahismati.
- (256) The sayembara consisted of defeating the brother of the bride, which was carried out by Arjuna's companion Srinadi, and of defeating the pararatu sevu, the thousand kings, whom he himself conquered.
- (257) The preceding episode is that of R 75-78. Codex 4081 I mentions the name of Gutama's hermitage as Garu Sela. The mother is called Ragu. Bali and Sugriva get the casket and it falls into the sea, they dive after it, come out as monkeys, do not recognize each other, and hence come into conflict. In lakon Hs. 196 Bat. Gutama's wife is cursed to become a stone and Devi Anjani carried out penance on the Kendali Sada XII. In SKM 2.13 Gautama's wife is the vidadari Ratna Undaradi.

- (258) This episode is referred to in R 112, 114. The name of S 98, 99 is similar to the Javanese as it can be read both as Keta and Keti.
- (259) The custom that a pregnant woman shifts to a special house till the time of delivery, can be seen even to day in Papua (G. A. Wilken, VG. 3.217A, 556. Cf. the mother of the Buddha who went to the Lumbini park, to give birth to the Buddha.
 - (260) Cf. R 64-72 where Ravana's wife and not Balia's is abducted.
- (261) Codex 4085 I has the story that from the ornaments of Lesmanadari, a pseudo-Lesmanadari appeared. The chief queen is called Ragu, daughter of Sayak. Lesmanadari is a princess of Maravati, and a third wife (first selir) is called Devi Kekayi. Neither here nor in the lakon Dasamuka tapaturu is there any mention of a patih Gurdamuka. SKM 2.1ff. mentions the name of the queen Bendondari. In Codex 4084 Lesmanadari is given without much ado to Rahvana and after that Devi Kekayi is made queen.
- (262) In most of the sources, the son has already been born, before Dasarata's wife is given away.
- (263) Codex 4085 I gives: Sukmarasa (son of Devi Ragu), Sukmapapa (son of Devi Lesmanadari) and Berdana (son of Devi Kekayi). SKM gives: Dayaprana, Dayakrama, Logava and Murdaka. The second wife is called Sukasalia, which is similar to Yasa di Pura's Serat Rama: Sukosalya.
 - (264) Through the fact that the father has swallowed Sri in the form of an egg, 46.
- (265) In Codex 4085I the son is called Trinetra. The children of Rahvana are: Indrajit (Bituhun), Pertala Maryan (living in Pramudita), Bubutbis living in a cave, Gangasura living in the sea, Trisirah, Trikaya, Trinetra, Narataka. Cf. R15-17.
- (266) In Codex 4085 Sinta is not a daughter of Rahvana. She is found in a grove by resi Kala, who sees something shining on the ground, a golden gendaga, casket. The same night, a sada lanan, magic creeper grows on the square which no one can uproot.
- (267) In Codex 4085 I she is promised to him as his wife, who can uproot the sada lanan. Cf. R18.
- (268) The story of the two sons of Dasarata, varies greatly in Codex 4085I. There they are sent by their mother, Devi Ragu, shortly after their birth to her father resi Sayak in his hermitage on the Cemara Sevu. There they get the names Rama and Lesmana. After sometime they want to go to their father and are taken by the courtiers of Mandra-pura, as angels descending from heaven. (They are shining blue and white). Kekayi wants to punish both the boys (cf. R21-25).

(269) In the lakon Hs. 196 Bat. it is a male denava (demon) Jengini, who wants to

have Sita as his wife. He is killed by an arrow.

(270) We learn something more about this figure from SK 5. She is the daughter of the king Bandun Bragosa (Prakosa) and Devi Badrahini. The latter lived together with her daughter and her son Jenganabadra, on Indragiri. She was a nymph. Once her brother went with the patih (minister) to defend the kingdom and Jenginivati insisted on going with him. Her brother refused to allow her to go with the result that she became a buta on the spot. A voice advised her to carry out penance, so that later she would become a vidadari (nymph). In SK 49 she actually gets her form of a vidadari through Rama.

- (271) The kings present are ennumerated in Codex 4085 I: the kings of Pulo Salima, Indragiri, Indranegara, Adasastaka, Bulyatiga, Sulinga, Madenda, Madendapuri, Mangadapura. Apart from tearing out of the sada lanah, they had to shoot through forty lontars (palm leaves). Lesmana looked under the sada and saw that this was being held by a female buta. Rama then pulled the whole thing out of the earth and fought with the buta. Perhaps we can think of the tree of life in the sada lanan, more so as there is a mention of an ariari, placenta. G. A. Wilken, VG. 3.302, 303 mentions a custom among the Makassaris and the Buginese whereby a coconut is planted at the birth of a child and this is watered by the water of the afterbirth. Cf. R. H. Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs, 30: "In parts of Malaya the people throw the placenta ceremoniously into the sea. In other parts they burn it under a tree or plant a tree over it, the tree then remains a kind of primitive document for the age of a human being".
- (272) Cf. S 68, 69. In Codex 4085 I the crow has become dandan segara. This text also mentions the episode of the statues of R 36. Sinta is recognized by the fact that her eyes blink when the sada lanan is held in front of her.
- (273) Codex 4085 I: Rama dreams, that it as not possible for him to return to Mandrapura. The resi with whom he is living is called Nuvana. In lakon Hs. 196Bat. the city is called Jaravati and Sita's father Kunti Jenaka.
- (274) Codex 4085 I begins with this episode. The door-keeper is called Vagrasina, in the lakon Hs. 196Bat. Garu Lanit.
 - (275) Cf: the ear-rings from R 108, 109.
- (276) The same is to be found in the lakon. Codex 4085 I mentions again the cutting of the head. There the woman is called Kili Nyuni and is married to two men, Vagrasina and Kalapergi.
 - (277) Only the nose in the lakon and Codex 4085 I.

- (278) It is the same in the lakon. In Codex 4085 I, there are two, also in Codex 645. In the first Codex, Rahvana's charioteer is called Daruki, which is the name for the charioteer of Kṛṣṇa! A strange substitution is that Sinta is represented, sitting in a chariot, kareta. This word is probably used here for garitan, the magic circle. Rahvana had a bath in sea, as a result of which he was transformed into an old man, who offered Sinta a flower. Lesmana after the abduction, pulls out from a tree a pulun (elf), who had called out for help in Rama's voice.
- (279) In Codex 4085 I it is narrated that Gentayu had descended from Garuda Ambera. Cf. R 12: Geruda Mahabiru (Mahāvīra). Further, that Gentayu had to fight against Rahvana, since Sinta, whom he is carrying begins to have doubt, as a result of which she becomes heavier. After this follows the episode of emprit (a kind of sparrow) with its four wives (cf. R 102) and the episode of the bird with the long neck. After this Gentayu is found by Rama. The bird breaks off here in the middle of the story, after he has said that Sinta is to be found in Nalen. Further the two brothers come across the denava Pranalattan, who is without a head but has a face on his stomach, or Kabandha. They kill him.
- (280) In Codex 4085 I, the ants complain to Guru about Mahesasura, as a result of which Guru orders Bali to kill the animal. The text mentions two wives of Bali, Umayana and Umayati. Sugriva tried to get both in vain. Bali met his wives crying after his return. Act XXV of lakon Hs. 196Bat. which had remained obscure, now becomes more comprehensible through this order of Guru to Bali. Subali's wife is called here Setyavati.
- (281) The author talks of Anoman duta, the campaign of Hanuman against Nalenka and of the tambak, the construction of the dam, which followed. In actual fact both these episodes are extremely popular or they are often enacted or represented in artistic form (Candi Panataran). The author uses the name Serat Rama, which reminds us of the same in Yasa di Pura's work. Did the author actually know the work? The lakon Hs. 196Bat. shows clearly in the play, that it had strongly been influenced by the story of the Serat Rama, but about this our author is silent. Where otherwise Rama Keling is used as the base, here the story adheres more closely to the version of Yasa di Pura. Besides the author of the Serat Kanda tak with up the story at that point, where Serat Rama stops. Another question is whether Yasa di Pura's work is meant or perhaps the story which formed its base, the Rama Kavi. For the latter one could adduce the fact that in Candi Panataran this story is followed, as we shall see in the second part of our book. This would mean that this influence would be older than the time of Yasa di Pura. Of course there are also stories which continuously run parallel to the Malayan hikayats, e.g. the Rama Keling and the Serat Kanda, Codex 645.

(282) Lakon Hs. 196 Bat. the mountain Siyem (Siam). Same is the name of the mountain to which Kava (Eve) came, after she was driven out of the paradise, according to the Tapel Adam (D. Gertth van Wijk, De koranische verhalen in het maleisch, TBG. XXXV note 28).

Adam reaches Selan (Ceylon) or Sarindib and carries out penance for hundred years.

Cf. Ravana's rival of Serandib and his penance of twelve years (S 1).

- (283) In the lakon Hs. 196Bat. there is no mention of the fire ordeal. Here Rama carries out penance, standing on one leg with crossed arms, keeping thus all the nine openings (randhras) of the body closed. He goes to heaven, comes back, after which Sinta's head is washed and she puts on a new garment (LV).
- (284) Cf. R 169-171. In Codex 4085 l Rama orders Lesmana to kill her. Lesmana kills instead a kidan (deer).
- (285) In the Rāmāyaṇa Sasak, Rama is himself defeated by his sons (Codex 4446). They are called Botlava and Betlava.
- (286) T.S. Raffles, The History of Java, 1.461: One has the impression that Hanuman flew to Java after the death of Ravana and took refuge in the district of Ambarava, near Semarang, on a mountain, called Kandali Sada, a place mentioned in the Ramayana and here Hanuman practised tapa (penance). One can still see a stone or pillar which was used to mark this place on the tip of the mountain. In the neighbouring areas there is a superstition that they do not represent the story of Rama in their wayang out of fear that Hanuman would throw stones at them. Prof. Dr. N. J. Krom made me aware of the fact that nearby a stone with the mark of monkey was found. See OR. 1913:208.
 - (287) Cf. S 278, where Hanuman does the same as Jembavan is SK.
- (288) Kuntiboja is the name of the foster-father of Kunti from the Bratayuda (A. B. Cohen Stuart, Brata Joeda, 1.X note 20).
- (289) In the SKM 3.418-442 there is a story in which Sinta asks for three days time when Rama announced that they have to immolate themselves. Rama hands her over to Laksamana. See also Codex 3169(2) Rama Nitis.
- (290) In the Rama Nitis 3169(2), Rahvana incarnates in Jayagada (Angada) and attacks Rama's son, Bujanga Lava. He thus wished to avenge the death of his father (Subali was killed by Rama). Anoman silences Jayagada and Sugriva, after which Rama pardons them. After that the story gets confused with that of the Pendavas, as Rama is born again, after immolating himself, in the form of Kṛṣṇa, Maya Retna, the prince of Mantili, who had received Sita from Rama in Permadi (Arjuna), Sita in Sembadra, Sugriva in Jakapitana, Jayagada in Bratasena (Bima). In Codex 4085 I the episode of Angada's attack on Rama is also mentioned, as also that he surrounded the city with fire, so that all inside were burnt to death (see R 117 note).

- (291) Anala, Sanskrit for fire, Fire-god.
- (292) W. H. Rassers, De Pandji Roman, 248, 249.
- (293) W. H. Rassers, o.c., 265.
- (294) W. H. Rassers, o.c., 248.
- (295) H. H. Juynboll, Bijdr. 50.66, 54.545, 546, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. 2.67.
- (296) H. H. Wilson, The Visnu Purana, III.
- (297) Compare, for example, the confusion between the two Dilipas, H. H. Wilson, o.c. 383A 13, and Unnata for Uttama, 263A 17.
- (298) Derived from Sanskrit Bhargava, which is also the name for Parasurama, probably based on a mistake.
 - (299) H. H. Wilson, o.c., 384.
- (300) In Codex 4084, we come across a person, who combines both names in one: Sarvacitrabaya. The fact that second part of this name must be the same as Citrabaha, can be gleaned from the fact that in Codex 4934 Dasamuka is called the son of Citrabaya, which must stand for Citrabaha. Sarvacitrabaya is the minister of Sarva. In the Siamese Ramakien Citrabaha is called Caturapak, as Prof. K. Döhring has informed me.
 - (301) H. H. Wilson, o.c., 353A24.
 - (302) Dinesh Chandra Sen, The Bengali Ramayanas, 28ff.
 - (303) A. J. de Jong, edition of Baldaeus, Afgoderye etc. 82, 83.
 - (304) C. M. Haafner, Proeve van Indische Dichtkunde I.
 - (305) B. Ziegenbalg, Genealogie, 193.
 - (306) H. Kraemer, Een Javaansche Primbon, 122.
- (307) Compare what M. Winternitz has written about the royal chronicles of Panjab (Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, 3.584): In present day Punjab, we can still find minstrels, who sing about the heroic deeds of ancient warriors at the courts of the princes. At the same time they also maintain the genealogies and family histories of the ruling princes and which they also purposely change to suit them.
 - (308) W. H. Rassers, o.c., 262.
 - (309) H. H. Wilson, o.c. 429.
 - (310) F. E. Pargiter, The Markandeya Purana, 612.
 - (311) H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Mal. Hss., 46.
 - (312) W. Crooke, Popular Religions, 2.112, 113.
 - (313) W. Crooke, o.c., 2.88.
 - (314) B. Houghton, A Folktale of the Lushais, I. A. XXII:78. Also see IA. XXII.291.
 - (315) For instance, the story of the beautiful woman, who was found in the jungle
- by a king (W. Crooke, Folktales of Hindustan, IA. XXI.341).
 - (316) J. Burgess, The Satrunjaya Māhātmya, IA. XXX.251.

- (317) G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde, 2.87.
- (318) J. Talboys Wheeler, The History of India, 2.94A.
- (319) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 85.
- (320) O. Dapper, Asia, 100.
- (321) E. Thurston, Ethnographic Notes in Southern India, 276, 277.
- (322) R. E. Enthoven, Folklore of Gujarat, IA. XLI supp. 54.
- (323) The passage in W. H. Rassers, De Pandji Roman, 262 is as follows: "The fact that we have here in front of us quite clearly a division into four or five from the Indonesian myth and not with an extension of the numbers of Daśaratha's children without any further meaning, can be clearly explained that Rāma here just as in the case of Panji and Ken Arok, but in total contrast to the epic, is a useless (perhaps we could better say dangerous) boy. This fact is also given as the first motif, why he was removed from the succession".
 - (324) H. Wirtz, Die westliche Rezension des Rāmāyaṇa, 48: Ksem. folio 34b. tac chrutvā vajrabhinne 'va duḥkhitā manthara yayau/ śaiśave kila rāmeṇa purā praṇayakopataḥ/ caraṇenā "hatā tac ca nityam vairam uvāha sā// niḥśvasantī viṣapūrṇā bhujagī 'va vibhīsanā/
 - (325) W. Crooke, Popular Religion, 2.256.
 - (326) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 23.
- (327) Adbhuta-rāmāyaņa 6.1, 22, 7.2, 14, 19, 25, 36. See G. Grierson, Sita's Parentage, JRAS. 1921:422.
- (328) Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, who was kind enough to write to me in detail, the deviations in the Bengali Rāmāyaṇas, mentions a version of Sītā's birth, which is very different. He writes (letter of 15.2.1923): "Candravati describes after she has narrated much about the power and glory of Rāvaṇa, how Mandodari jealous of her many co-wives drank poison but instead of dying she gave birth to an egg. Rāvaṇa decided to throw it into the sea on the advice of his astrologers. It was swallowed by a fish. A fisherman then caught the latter and the egg broke open and a very beautiful girl came out of it. Raja Janaka took her away from the fisherman and this is Sita, a daughter of Mandodari". This version shows the similarities with the Adbhuta-rāmāyaṇa, but even more with the Indonesian stories as there is mention of the sea.

The Ramakien, the Siamese Rāmāyaṇa, in 108 cantos, has a large number of deviations. Here too Sitā is a daughter of Rāvaṇa as Prof K. Döhring very kindly informed me. I quote from his letter. "In Siam too Sita (Nang Sida) is the daughter of the king of the

giants Totsakan (Ravana). At birth she muttered some incomprehensible words. Phipek (Vibhīsana), the astrologer, was asked about this and he declared that the child would cause the destruction of Lanka. As a result the girl was put into a golden casket and thrown into the sea. Due to the fact that there was a current in the sea, produced by Tevadas, the golden casket floated to the mainland. There it was covered with earth and then found again by the king of that country while he was ploughing the land" (letter of 21.5.1923).

- (329) J. Talboys Wheeler, The History of India, 2.58. The motif of a girl in a casket or a similar receptacle is found very often. Compare the story of Manik and Sakhi Sona in: Dinesh Chandra Sen, Folk-Literature of Bengal, 196ff.
- (330) L. D. Barnett, Alphabetical Guide to Singhalese folklore, IA. XLV supp. 84. Such a version is found in Ram Carit Manas of Tulasi Das (translated by F. S. Growse). There the history of Ravana is given in Chaupai 153ff.: In Kekaya ruled king Satyaketu. His two sons were called Pratāpabhānu and Arimardana. His minister was Dharmaruci. Both the sons were born again as a result of the curse of an ascetic as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna, whereas the minister became Vibhisana. Ravana fights against the following one after the other: Kuvera, on Lanka, Kailasa, Brahmans, nagas, Bali, king Bali, the monkeys, by whom he is defeated. Sahasrabhuja, who was playing in the waters, shut up Ravana in his stall, for the amusement of his wives. Pulastya, however, liberated him. After that he went after Urvasī, the wife of Nalakuvera, and was thus cursed. As Rāvaṇa once asked for a sage, who would pay him tribute, the sage, however, gave him a vessel with his blood. As Rāvaņa is afraid of this vessel he buried it in the ground, somewhere in the north, and there it was found by Janaka while ploughing. Inside the vessel was a girl: Sītā.
 - (331) Dinesh Chandra Sen, The Bengali Ramayanas, 35note.
- (332) Putbilai D. H. Wadia, Folklore in Western India, IA. XXII.315ff. A similar story from the Punjab in R. C. Temple, IA. XI.290. The story is about Sassi (moon), the daughter of Adamjam, the king of Bhambor, who is thrown into a stream in a casket and latter is wooed by her own father.
 - (333) B. Ziegenbalg, Genealogie, 284.
 - (234) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 84, 85.
 - (235) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 7, 8.
- Compare the golden fish with the soul of princess (336) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 85. Bidasari, and analogous stories in the archipelago (G. A. Wilken, VG. 3.289-309).
 - (337) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 9.
 - (338) Raghuvamsa 7.30ff.
- (339) The height of the reliefs of the Siva temple of Candi Lara Jongran is about 0.80 m.
 - (340) B. Ziegenbalg, o.c., 254.

- (341) R. E. Enthoven, o.c.
- (342) R. E. Enthoven, o.c.
- (343) R. C. Temple, IA. XI.290.
- (344) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 24, 25.
- (345) B. Ziegenbalg, o.c., 221.
- (346) I wish to take this opportunity to correct the opinion of H. H. Juynboll regarding the name of a figure of Hanuman from the wayang golek. This figure is called Anoman Prabancana, which Juynboll explains as "deceiver", referring to his campaign against Ceylon (Bijdr. 54.528). But this appears to me to be in the eyes of the Indians to be more a heroic deed than a deception. I would thus prefer to accept the explanation which is given in VDT. 4.138 where Prabancana is identified with Prabhañjana, a name for the Wind-god.
- (347) A. V. Williams Jackson, Die Iranische Religion, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie 2.643: "Hvāstra or the spirit, which grants or possesses good pastures (thus the tradition explains the name), is to be identified with the "good vayu", the spirit of the air, which is praised together with Rāma Hvāstra in the Rām Yasht (Yt. 15)". Also see SBE IV introd. IV, and XXIII.249. A. Weber identifies Vedic Rama Halabhrt, who is the origin of the Epic Rāma, with this Rāma Hvāstra (ABA:1864:275A).
 - (348) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 27ff.
 - (349) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 86. She is going here to wash herself.
 - (350) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 27ff.
 - (351) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 87.
 - (352) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 88, 89.
 - (353) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 32.
 - (354) J. Talboys Wheeler, o.c., 2.294. W. Crooke, o.c., 2.41.
 - (355) H. H. Wilson, Select Specimens, 1.290A.
 - (356) J. Talboys Wheeler, o.c., 2.142.
 - (357) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 34.
 - (358) Dinesh Chandra Sen, The Bengalī Ramayanas, 179.
 - (359) W. Crooke, o.c., 1.35.
 - (360) Putbilai D. H. Wadia, IA. XXI.160.
 - (361) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 45.
 - (362) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 93.
 - (363) J. Talboys Wheeler, o.c., 2.287.
 - (364) H. A. Rose, The troubles of love, IA. XXXVIII.149.
 - (365) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 47.
 - (366) R. C. Temple IA. XI.290ff. This name can be identified with the name of the

fish-queen in R 149: Jandana could also have been Candana due to the confusion of j and c in R and S.

- (367) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 91. A. J. de Jong, o.c., 99.
- (368) W. Caland, Twee Oude Fransche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme, VKA. lett. XXIII.3.
- (369) W. Caland and A. A. Fokker, Drie Oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme, VKA. lett. XVI.2. This work mentions (page 15) a pyramid which Rāvaṇa had erected and which Rāma understood to be a sign that he had to fight a battle there. Perhaps this is connected with the story of the umbrellas (payon).
 - (370) Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 68.
 - (371) Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 69. Story of the Mahi Ravaner Pālā, 252-283.
 - (372) R. E. Enthoven, IA. XLI supp. 54ff.
 - (373) H. Wirtz, Die westliche Rezension des Ramayana, 35, 36.
 - (374) R. C. Temple, Note on Malik-ul-Maut, IA. X.289.
- (375) A. Bastian, Reisen im Indischen Archipel, 5.221. It is possible that he has taken this report from French or Portuguese sources, at least we can see something similar there. Rāma kills Rāvaṇa by breaking a pitcher with amṛta inside, which was located in Rāvaṇa's stomach, with the result that the nectar flowed out. W. Caland, VKA. lett. XVI.2 and XXIII.3. In both cases Bastian's report refers to Indra also.
 - (376) Mah. 3.290.
- (377) A. Rogerius, Open Deure etc., translated from French 360. Compare the illustration in A. J. de Jong, o.c., 105.
 - (378) C. M. Haafner, o.c., 207.
- (379) Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 227ff., 251. This episode is found in Jagat Rāma's Rāmāyaņa in Puşkarakāņda, before the Uttarakāņda.
 - (380) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 106, 104.
 - (381) I. Friedländer, Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman, 31, 301.
 - (382) Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 197ff.
 - (383) A. J. de Jong, o.c. 107.
 - (384) L. D. Barnett, Alphabetical Guide etc., IA. XLV supp. 84ff.
 - (385) L. D. Barnett, l.c.
 - (386) B. Ziegenbalg, o.c., 131.
 - (387) L. D. Barnett, l.c.
 - (388) Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 68.
 - (389) B. Ziegenbalg, o.c., 132.
 - (390) Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 1.
 - (391) O. Rank, Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung, 382.

- (392) O. Rank, o.c., 388.
- (393) A. Weber, Über das Rāmāyaņa, ABA. 1870:1-88.
- (394) O. Rank, o.c., 389. It is noteworthy that Rank in his study constantly looks for comparisons with totemism and initiation and comes across totemistic parallels in the stories: "one can understand the actual meaning of this mythical characterstic (the security measures taken by the father at the time of the initiation ceremony of his son), if one takes as comparison its ethnological parallel, the puberty rites of the savages, which Reik has so clearly shown in his excellent study making use of psychoanalysis (Imago IV)". It is remarkable how Rassers recognized so clearly, in his Pandji Roman, the dim totemistic background of the Indonesian legends in their original colour.
- (395) It would be correct for us to think about a kind of "potency test" even in the scene with the thousand statues where the number one thousand means nothing more than many. Cf. O. Rank, o.c., 390A: "where the task set by the father (of the daughter) for the purpose of keeping the suitors away from her, as he himself wishes to possess her, there it often expresses itself quite clearly as a specific potency-test".
 - (396) O. Rank, o.c., 390A.
 - (397) Compare p.284note.
 - (398). Dinesh Chandra Sen, o.c., 37-39.
 - (399) H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. Supp. 2.67.
 - (400) T. K. Balasubrahmanyam, in Sri Vani Vilas, Tamil Series, I.XV.
 - (401) H. Schanz, ZDMG.27.703ff. and E. H. J. Vinson, Le Ramayana de Kamban.
- (402) In a list of some hundred proper names from the hikayats and from the Javanese stories which I gave to Prof. Ph. S. Van Ronkel and who then kindly agreed to look through the list for any Tamil names, he could, however, identify two names with any certainty. Some of the endings in -n and -m, which could point to Tamil names showed however no traces of any connection with the Tamil language on closer investigation. Even in the case of one of these two names, Berdana which Prof. Van Ronkel identified as Bëradan, I consider on the ground of parallels, in Javanese Bërdona and Bërdana, the origin from Tamil to be uncertain. Of course, some Tamil words like kuvil etc. are used. They are also used in Malay but this does not say naturally against the great majority of non-Tamil names.
- (403) Van Ronkel takes a more cautious view in Bijdr. 75.383 and refers to the Javanese Rama Keling, which could point to a particular origin. On the other hand, he also points out that this keling is also used for people, who do not directly come from Kalinga but in fact it is generally used for all people from Hindostan, even Sikhs and Central Indians.

- (404) Mārkandeya-purāņa 57.51, Matsya-purāņa 113.50, Vāyu-purāna 45.130.
- (405) G. P. Rouffaer, Bijdr. 50.409-676 passim. Also see B. J. O. Schrieke, Het Boek van Bonang, s.v.
- (406) One should be careful in not imagining that both these groups combined living together in complete separation. Just as the Kakavin influenced the story, as the lakons clearly prove, the epic (and the related Rāmāyaṇas) naturally made their influence felt in India. Here the drama would have played the role of the middle man.
- (407) Here and there I have deviated from the translation of Kern, partly because I believe that his choice of words was not always the most appropriate to catch the style (of the original) and partly because I feel that at certain places, his translation was not very correct.
 - (408) H. Kern, Rāmāyana, Oudjavaansch heldendicht, 40-43.
- (409) H. Kern, cantos I-IV of the Old Javanese Ramayana in translation, VG. X.114-117.
 - H. Kern: he went away, 5.39c věkasan madulur lumaku.
- (410) Kern: reebok. Here the word is kidan, which we are continuing to use for the sake of the Javanese version.
- (411) Kern: She, who was of hope. He takes it to refer to Janaka's daughter. The word used is marin. VDT. 1.129b translates the word as tame, which would then refer here to the kidan.
 - (412) It is missing in Kern 5.41b, rambut alëmbut alit.
 - (413) A place where one carries out tapa, penance.
 - (414) Missing in Kern 5.43c malenis.
 - (415) Missing in Kern 5.44a madoh.
 - (416) Kern: "jonker", nobleman.
 - (417) Kern does not translate narendra. 5.48b narendra sań Janakarāja.
 - (418) Kern: that they all died for fear. 5.50b alahatakut ya matya.
- (419) Sakti is more than corporal power and has a supernatural significance. I have therefore left it untranslated.
- (420) Kern: He saw Rāma and was not afraid. Intending to die from Rāma's arrow was very welcome to him. 5.51bc tumon sira tanmatakut/ atisaphalastra san raghusuta pva ya donya pějah/
 - (421) Cf. VDT. 3.141.
 - (422) Or: being arrogant. Kern: being hostile. 5.56d abhimana. Cf. VDT. 1.459.
- (423) Kern: He did not understand anything about her manner in doing this. 5.61c naya nira yukti tekana lalu pva ya tankahidep. Cf. VDT. 4.450.
 - (424) It is missing in Kern 5.64a dadi sīghra sira.
 - (425) turun. The Malay climbs down from his house standing on pillars.

(426) In S gagak nasi.

- (427) One should compare the marked rythmic division of Javanese music in gongans and there again in similar subdivisions by the beating of the kenong and of the ketuk or këmpul. See Soerjo Poetro in Nederl. Indie Oud en Nieuw, Nov. 1919.
 - (428) VDT. 1. s.v. Uttarakāņda. H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Jav. Hss. supp. 2.178-180.
- (429) H. Kern, VG. 9.300. Kern presupposes here the existence of two Indian redactions of the epic. In the meantime, however, several have become welknown. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, 3.629.
- (430) G. A. J. Hazeu, Het Oudjavaansche Adiparwa en zijn Sanskrtorigineel, TBG. XLIV. 289ff.
- (431) H. Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaņa, 15. H. Wirtz, Die Westliche Rezension des Rāmāyana, 38.
 - (432) H. Kern, VG. IX.300.
- (433) This portion is clear. The text reads: maka kata Laksemana hamba menangis ini oleh karena harep paduka kakanda menaruhkan tuanhamba kapada patik tetapi karena sudah janjinya itu ditentukan oleh devata mulia raya "Therefore said Laksemana that he burst into tears because you had faith in me and expected me to carry out my duties, but this was already promised and was predecided by the gods". After tetapi we would expect an opposition, which is the reason that I have translated sudah by 'away' in the meaning. of 'expired'.
- (434) Numerous stories which have been narrated by Baldaeus, Dapper and Haafner, are missing in the hikayats. I shall mention some of them: about the giant "Siettank" who begged Ravana for alms and received from him a stone, which he had made to look like meat with his own blood, De Jong 90; about Indrajit's snake-arrow which was broken into pieces by Hanumat after which Brahman earnestly pleaded with the monkey to declare himself defeated, as he had assured Indrajit that the snake-arrow would be invincible, De Jong 96-97; about Ravana and the ten golden portraits, which he had made of himself and sat between them as Angada came with his ultimatum, De Jong 100; about Rāma's jealousy which drove him to reproach Sitā about the elephant, De Jong 108. do not read anything about a regular marine battle which Rāma fought against Rāvaṇa and which was won by the latter (Haafner 61ff). We read nothing about the golden fish, which was shot by Rama during the svayamvara but which is reported by Haafner 8, Baldaeus (De Jong 85), Dapper 98. In the Portuguese treatises, we also come across legends, about which there is no trace in the hikayats. For instance, the legend regarding Hanumat's jump over the sea, whereby to begin he jumps too far and lands on Malaka, from where he jumped back to Lanka (Caland 12); the legend about Ravana's immortality, as a result of his vessel full of amrta (Caland 16, 203); the legends about Indrajit's arm which flies to his wife after the death of the hero, and writes down for her, the fate of her husband (Caland 29); the legend about Ravana's invention of the guitar, which he made out of one of his

heads when he came into conflict with Siva on Kailāsa and with the help of which he brought round the god (Caland 203). This story is also to be found in Haafner. In the Bengali version as well there are more than enough episodes which are not found in the hikayats: the Kālanemir Lankā Bāta (Sen 182), the love story of Lakṣmaṇa in Lakṣmaṇer Digvijaya of Bhabānicharaṇa (Sen 211), Angader Raivāra about which there is nothing in hikayat but which occurs in all the south Indian stories (Sen 214ff). Thus many more evidences can be adduced that neither the south Indian nor the Bengali narratives, at least as we have got to know them, can be considered as the sources for the hikayats.

On the other hand, in the Ramakien is unmistakable south Indian influence. Hanumat's love affair with the fish-queen fits in well with the south Indian stories, where there is also mention of a popular love story which took place after the jump in Lanka, but which does not correspond to similar stories in the north and the west, whereby Hanumat only loses his semen and in any case does not know what happens to it. This episode takes place during the course of his first jump; in other words everything is in agreement with the hikayats. Further in the hikayats there is neither the episode of Indrajit's descent from heaven in the form of Indra, nor that of Hanumat, who goes into service in Rāvaṇa's court and by this means takes his life in his possession which was kept in a golden box, nor the episode about the punishment of Benyakai (K. Döhring, Art and Art-Industry in Siam, text 16, 50, 71). It would perhaps be going too far to list all the differences.

The above should suffice to give an approximate idea of the problems involved. Taking everything together I think that there is very little probability that the subject matter of the Siamese shadow plays, which deal with the story of Rāma, has a common origin with that of the Indonesian Rama wayang. The probability is even less that the first is borrowed from the latter.

I feel the necessity of making a point about this, as some scholars have been of the opinion that some Siamese stories go back to Javanese models (Hazeu, Javaansche Tooneel, 36). This may be valid for the Panji stories mentioned there but this definitely is not true for the Ramakien. Surprisingly Bastian states (Völker des Östlichen Asiens 3.504) that this Ramakein only formed the subject matter for the shadow plays which are performed with leather puppets. These are used in much the same manner as the Javanese wayang purva puppets, even though they show a completely different style of forms.

In this context one has to take into consideration that since Hazeu wrote his study, Pischel has proved in his researches that in India as well there had been shadow plays. Hazeu's remarks "As far as one knows the Indians had never known shadow plays and certainly their folk theatre does not in anyway resemble that of the Javanese". I do not

apply it to the first part of the sentence any more. The old Sanskrit word for chāyānāṭaka was rūpya-rūpaka and interestingly enough the original meaning of the word rūpya, as in case of the Indonesian word wayang, was "spirits which appear in a disguised or assimilated form" (Pischel, SKPA.1906:489). Later rūpya meant "pop" (doll, puppet), in other words exactly the same as designated in Indonesia by the Javanese word ringit which can mean both a wayang figure as well as a coin due to the figure impressed on it. Compare with that the meaning of rūpya "minted money", rupee! According to this the assumption that Siamese shadowplays are descended from the Indonesian is not as certain as one had thought earlier. The problem has to be tackled afresh using all possible sources from India.

- (435) The name of a wayang figure is noteworthy, which was noticed by Juynboll, Bijdr. 54.530: Bibiksana in place of Vibisana (Vibhīṣaṇa). One could think of South Indian influence, if one considers the k in South Indian names for Vibhīṣaṇa (Baldaeus, D. J. 103: Bebickhem; Haafner 106: Vibukaan and the Portuguese: Vibixen, Caland 116). But as far as I can determine this name stands isolated so that I look for a different reason (Madurese).
- (436) In Schrieke, Het Boek van Bonang, we learn that Mohammedan Persians and Gujaratis came to Malaka and brought the religion of Islam to that region together with their trade (Report of Barros). It is not to be supposed that these people carried out only trade after they had taken Islam to Malaka, even before this period, they must have carried on the same (B. J. O. Schrieke, Het Boek van Bonang, 7).
- (437) The contents of a Serat Kanda can also be found in Raffles, History of Java, 1.417ff.
- (438) Van der Tuuk also takes the view of a Tamil origin (TBG. XXV.490) "Bibisanam in place of Vibisana seems to originate in Tamil".
- (439) Gerth van Wijk reports that manuscript B starts with the story of Mahabisnu, the king of Kayahan (heaven) who had a son Seri Rama, and then continues further with the events surrounding Hanumat (TBG. XXXIV. 409).
- (440) In this context, I should like to refer to R 99, 100 in which Ravana states that the place where he is vulnerable in his big toe and Jentayu the tip of his wing. That this is not an invention of the Indonesians, is proved by the story which Moor mentions in his Hindu Pantheon 263. There Rāvaṇa's vulnerable spot is "the big toe of his right foot" and that of Jaṭāyu "the long feather of his tail". Unfortunately, Moor has held back to communicate more facts of this kind, which he had obtained orally from the brahmanas, as the manuscript of his book was ready, and as a translation of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki had appeared, wherein he hoped to find "much more full, authentic, and correct" facts. Thus he kept back very important collection of material.

- (441) Thurston, Ethnographic Notes on Southern India 262, mentions a Hanumanyantram which is engraved on golden tablets and if worshipped on Saturdays, makes a woman have an easy child birth. In other words the yantram grants power and knowledge and protects in the darkness.
- (442) H. Lüders is of the opinion that the gathas in the jatakas go back to the verses from the akhyanas which were already well known before the time of Valmiki and from which Valmiki himself took his inspiration (NKGWG, philolog, hist. Klasse, 1897:131).
- (443) "He who reads this pure, sin-destroying, holy story of Rāma, comparable with the Vedas will be liberated from all sins" (translated in M. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, 1.407).
 - (444) Compare the curse in R 6.
- (445) I would like to point out that Rama takes a bath and worships the gods before he goes to see Sugriva. This must have had a definite meaning but I have no ideas about it. Perhaps Sugriva was dangerous from the magical point of view.
 - (446) In Codex 1689 one reads of only one kijan (deer).
 - (447) Codex 4064 Gagasura.
 - (448) Codex 4064 Mantala Mariam.
 - (449) Codex 4847 (Madurese) Kërtabirya. Cf. Ram. 7:31 Kārttavīrya.
 - (450) Codex 4847 (Madurese) Yaksadarma.
- (451) This episode from the Raghuvamsa can be found again in the Old Javanese Sumanasantaka, canto 109-153.
- (452) The manuscript of S has the year 1633, this was put on it after Lord Archbishop had received it. It is perhaps the oldest Malayan manuscript. Cf. W. G. Shellabear, JSBRAS. 1878:113.
 - (453) Kern: because you heard some one shouting. 5.52c nikanan manahis.
- (454) Mr. G. W. J. Drewes drew my attention to a close parallel which occurs in an Acheh story. See Hussein Djajadiningrat in TBG. LVII.356. There we have the story of svayamvara in which trees, which are growing on rolled up maga, have to be pierced through. The hero manages with the help of a trick to get the naga to become straight and then pierces the lontar-trees. Cf. the remarkable illustration of a tree on a naga (serpent) on a bamboo quiver from Borneo, in J. A. Loeber, Bijdr. 65, plate V.
- (455) For the sake of being complete, I should like to refer to the 11th thesis in the dissertation of Brandes which runs as follows: "A large part of the Malayan Sri Rama consists of indigenous stories which are only loosely connected with the material culled

from Indian sources (J. Brandes, Vergelijkende Klankleer etc.). As far as I know, Brandes mentioned this view later on also.

(456) Indische Gids XXVIII.1239.

- (457) One can find in the stories from the northwestern and western parts of India also motifs of other Indonesian stories other than those about Rāma (C.Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, 2.145).
- (458) The motif of a son rejected by his step-mother is very common in western India (see also Putbilai D. H. Wadia, IA. XVII).
- (459) M. and B. Ferrar give in their "Burma" illustrations of such a puppet-theatre. Unfortunately they give in their text little or nothing about the contents of the plays and we have to suffice with the captions of the illustrations. I mention these here because they represent in a remarkable way, the main motif of the Indonesian Rāma legends.
- 1 The King, Queen, Ministers and the Court-Fool. The king decrees the banishment of the Prince; the jester indulges in caustic asides.
- 2 The Prince and his attendants travel through the forest, where they meet with all manner of adventures and are beset by ogres (bilū).
- 3 The ogres bring dragons (naga) to attack the Prince, who is saved by the interposition of the genius (nat) of the forest.
- 4 Arrived with the king, to whose court he is banished, the Prince refuses to be solaced for the loss of his Princess.
- 5 The Prince in despair quits the court and sejourns with a hermit (yathe), who directs him to the abode of a powerful magician (zawdyi) to break the spell of the king's displeasure.
- 6 The sorcerer by his magic brings the Princess to the Prince, upon which the pair return home, to be received with honour.
- (460) I should like to refer to socalled monkey regiments in the Kraton (palace) of Yogyakarta (J. Groneman, Garĕbĕgs, 28): These are the prajurits nyutra, who consist of butas (rākṣasas). They have a flag, which has a red circle on yellow ground. The kĕtek (monkeys) have a flag with a black circle on yellow ground. The panji (officer) of the first was called Ravana, that of the latter, was not Rama but Sugriva. Apparently Rama was considered too noble. Clearly we have here a very old institution, but we have to be careful as in the same army personages from other stories are also mentioned (Janaka, Pĕrmadi).
- (461) Prof. K. Döhring was kind enough to let me have more details about the corresponding passages in the Ramakien. He writes as follows: "The Ramakien starts with the

story of the founding of Ayuthia. Then follows: at that time the great giant Tao Sahabodi Phrom Rüeng Sri thought that it would be a pity and a shame, if the kingdom of giants in Lanka, which had been left in lurch by the earlier king, Sahamalivan should come to an end. Sahamalivan had fled to the under world, therefore he appointed his nephew, Chaturapak as king of Lanka. Sahabodi flew on his vehicle, a silver swan, with a large retinue to the island. There he ordered his chief architect Vishnuphrom to construct a glorious royal city. The latter obeyed his orders and had a city constructed with ramparts, palaces and all other buildings, which belong to a royal capital. Then Sahabodi invested the new king with all power and gave him a huge, powerful umbrella which Chaturapak was supposed to set up in the middle of the city. The umbrella, however, had a miraculous quality: the whole city became invisible for the enemy. The umbrella received the name Chat Keo Mali . . .

A son was born to him and received the name, Lasatien... In the country of Badan (Badal) however, the giant Sahamalivan, who had now become the king of this country under the earth, remembered his earlier kingdom Lanka. He had heard that a new kingdom of giants had been established there. He immediately set off with a large army towards Lanka...

Both concluded a treaty, and Sahamalivan presented as a token the magic chariot to Chaturapak . . .

Chaturapak died when he was very old . . .

Totsakan (Rāvaṇa) was born as the son of Lasatien in Lanka to his chief queen. He had ten heads and twenty arms. Shortly afterwards the second wife gave birth to Kumpakan (Kumbhakarṇa)...

The god Vetsunyan received the order from Sayompuvanat (Siva) to go to the country of Lanka, to be born there as a son of the chief queen. He followed the order and was born as Vibhīṣaṇa...

Then the chief queen gave birth to her last child, a daughter, who received the name Samanaka. Besides this the Ramakien speaks of another half-brother of Totsakan, Kuperan (Kubera) (letter of 29.11.1923).

We can identify in most of the names well-known personages. Sahamalivan is naturally Sumāli from Rām. 7.5 fused into one person with Malyavat from the same passage. Chaturapak could correspond to Malayan Citrabaha or Caturabaha. Badal is Pātala, the underworld. Who Lasatien was, is not quite clear to me, but clearly he was the father of Rāvaṇa. World. Who Lasatien was, is not quite clear to me, but clearly he was the father of Rāvaṇa. Samanaka is naturally Sūrpaṇakhā. It is however important to bear in mind that the version deviates very largely from the Indonesian. It is noteworthy, as mentioned further

in the letter, that the episode in which Rāvaṇa abducts Maṇḍodarī, as narrated in R 64-72, is also present in the Ramakien, even though in a slightly different version. Similarly the changing of Vālin and Sugrīva into monkeys, whereby the mother is called Achana (Anjani) and the daughter Suvaha (for further details refer to K. Döhring, Siam, 2.21, 22).

- (462) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 82A.
- (463) Uttararāmacarita, A Sanskrit Drama by Bhavabhūti, ed. Premachandra Tarkabāgīsa, 9.-21.
 - (464) Uttararamacarita 9.
- (465) Bhavabhūti starts Rām. 1.27. Tāṭakā has already been killed by them in the epic.
 - (466) So already in Rigveda (MW.).
 - (467) See Vincent A Smith, A History of Fine Art, 272-303.
 - (468) B. Laufer, Das Citralakshana, text 122-123, translation 179-180.
- (469) Mr. J. Rahder was kind enough to draw my attention to the following: Since the Tibetan translator has reversed the two parts of the Sanskrit word, Dasaratha (sin-rta, wooden horse, chariot, Sanskrit ratha and bcu, ten, Sanskrit dasa), it is probable that he has also done the same with other names. Chandra Das quotes as the Sanskrit equivalent of rno-ba: fikṣṇa. For the name me-rnoi-bu, we get the Sanskrit form Tikṣṇāgni, wherein me can be translated by agni, fire. An investigation of the Mahāvyutpatti, Amarakośa, Vighantu or other Sanskrit Tibetan dictionaries should be very revealing.

I would like to mention here that the name Tikṣṇāgni is not known to us in Sanskrit literature. The name that we would expect at this point, is either Jamadagni or Vasudeva. The explanation of jamat, first part of Jamadagni, by jvalat in the Naighaṇtuka 1.17 and elsewhere tends to specify the meaning of the otherwise etymologically obscure word jamad as "burning, sharp" (Cf. jvalantī, black mustard, MW.). The meaning of tīkṣṇa is "sharp, hot" and it is very possible that the Tibetan translator used the same word for both the concepts: rno, which in bahuvrīhis mostly has the meaning of "hot", both literally as well as metaphorically. We could therefore actually translate me-rnoi-bu, as the son of Jamadagni, which is what we would expect here.

- (470) Bāla-rāmāyaņa 311.3
- (471) H. Kern, VG. 2.47.
- (472) Agni-purāṇa, ed. Rajendralala Mitra, 1.139.
- (473) T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, 1/1.186, 189, 190. Here we find the illustrations of bronzes.
 - (474) A. Cunningham, The Stupa of Bharhut, pl. XXVII.14.
 - (475) S. Von Oldenberg, JAOS. 1897:188.

- (476) J. Ph. Vogel, Excavations at Saheth Maheth, AR. 1907/08:94, 96, 97 and plate XXVII. The dating is resaonably certain through an inscription. The reliefs were found together with Kṛṣṇa reliefs on a Viṣṇu temple, which is important, considering a similar situation in Java.
- (477) Daya Ram Sahni, A. R. 1917/18 Part I:6 plate 1a and A, Progr. R. Northern Circle of this year. The discoverer of these reliefs has very kindly agreed to allow me to discuss them. A. Cunningham had discussed two of the reliefs which were already known at that time (AR. X/1880:108, 109).
- (478) J. F. Fleet, Sanskrit and Oldcanarese Inscriptions. In IA. X:168. I would like to point out the fact, that the Calukyas claimed their origin from Ayodhya, the capital of Rāma (V. A. Smith, History, 424).
 - (479) AMG. 1914: II, pl. XXXII B.
- (480) V. A. Smith, Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore. The Hoysala Style, IA. XLIV.93.
 - (481) G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., I pl. XXXIX page 138.
- (482) A. H. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, 78. V. A. Smith, History of Fine Art, pl. XLVI.
- (483) J. Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 1899, 355-359. V. A. Smith, o.c., fig. 172, 173. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c. 2.14, 15 has the legend that it is not older than the thirteenth century.
 - (484) G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., 2.91, 92.
 - (485) V. A. Smith, IA. XXXIX.183.
 - (486) V. A. Smith, History of Fine Art etc., pl. LXIX-LXXI.
 - (487) G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., 2.89-91 pl. II B, fig. 26, pl. XXXI, XXXII A.
- (488) A strange, many-armed Hanumat in this episode in A. V. Williams Jackson, History of India, 1.123.
 - (489) R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism etc., Grundriss III/6.47, 58.
- C. Duroiselle, Conservation in Burma, AR. 1912/13:136ff. pl. LXXVIIIc, (490) LXXIX, LXXXac.
 - (491) K. Döhring, Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam, text.
- (492) Taw Sein Ko, The Sangyaung Monasteries of Amarapura, AR. 1914/15:56ff. (63) pl. XLb.
 - (493) A. Leclère, Cambodge, 103, 351.
- (494) E. Lunet De Lajonquière, Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge, 3. No. 497 and 475.
- (495) G. Coedès, Les Bas-Reliefs d'Angkor-Vat. BCAI. 1911:170ff. L. Finot, Les Bas-Reliefs de Bapuon, BCAI. 1910:155ff.

- (496) E. Lunet De Lajonquière, o.c. I no. 122 fig. 105, cf. II no. 460 fig. 109.
- (497) P. J. Veth, Java (1882) 2.94.
- (498) See J.Brandes, TBG. XLVII.414-432 and what has been written there about the cleaning up. As we are concerned here with the reliefs which are outside restoration and partial reconstruction under the supervision of the Architectural Inspector of the Archaeological Service, which has caused so much trouble, we can keep ourselves away from making any judgement about the pros and cons of his method of work. As far as we are concerned we shall discuss the reliefs in the condition in which we found them before the restoration.
- (499) See Verbeeks, archaeological map, folio III, with a special terrain-map in the scale of 1:50000. The railway line from Yogyakarta to Surakarta goes past it. The complex lies on the main road from Kalasan to Klaten.
 - (500) OV. 1920:79.
 - (501) See the detailed description by N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 1.440-490 and 3.35-40.
- For the connection between Śrivijaya and Java see N. J. Krom, Inaugural (502)Speech, 1919.
- (503) This is the incription of Karang Tengah, OJO IV. Brandes writes: "Below it one can read "śriman aryya-samarottunga iti". In trying to decipher the first lines of the incription, from which Brandes had identified some words, I used the plaster-cast in Leiden (Cat. Ethn. Mus. 5.233 no. 2994). In line 3 I identified śrimanaryyasama-, which was not in the transcription of Brandes. This name thus appears twice in the incription. The inscription of Balitun in whose name Samarottunga is also mentioned, as that of the Blitar Ganesa (OJO. XXVI). At other places he is called utsavottunga, OJO. XXIV.
 - (504) Inscription of Gandasuli (OJO. III and CV).
- (505) G. P. Rouffaer, Bijdr. 74.153ff. seeks in the document of Daksa in Sanjayachronology signs of his Buddhist leanings. I am in agreement with Krom's opinion about this and believe that even where namo buddhaya can be read in so many words, the namas sivaya, which precedes it, places the Sivaite-Tantric character so much in the foreground that here we cannot speak of Buddhism.
- (506) See what has been published about this in N. J. Krom, Inleiding 1.147ff. from the unpublished construction report by T. Van Erp. At the same time I would like to point out, that the inscriptions found on the lowest portion of Barabudur, which is again covered up, were written in Sanskrit, whereas the inscriptions on Lara Jongrah fragments are written in Old Javanese (N. J. Krom, Barabudur, 48ff., N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 1.487).

(507) The Chinese sources mention the shifting of the capital from Central (West) to East Java (East) (G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais, JA. 1922:40, 41). In my opinion it has not been possible as yet to offer a satisfactory explanation for such a sudden end of Central Javanese culture. Rouffaer is of the opinion that a wholesale migration took place as a result of the symbol of the anger of the gods, e.g. a volcanic earthquake. It is, however, not clear to me as to what leads him to this view but I feel that there is no reason for it.

I feel that before one comes to such a conclusion, one has to see whether there are no other reasons which may not have anything to do with the fact but with the prevailing conditions. In the further course of our study we shall see, what was a typical difference between the spirit of the edifices of Central and East Java. I will therefore not go into details now but only mention in passing that this view can also be relevant here in a purely historical context.

- (508) G. P. Rouffaer, Oudheidkundige Opmerkingen, Bijdr. 74.151-163.
- (509) That this stone (O. J. O. XXXVI) should originate from Prambanan is an assumption of Rouffaer.
 - (510) The document from Pareng (H. Kern, VG. 6.277).
 - (511) J. C. Van Eerde, Hindu-Javaansche en Balische Eeredienst, Bijdr. 65.22ff.
 - (512) Bijdr. 79.329.
- (513) To begin with the reliefs which have been described by J. Groneman in his "Tjandi Prambanan na de ontgraving". After that a small guide meant for the use of the visitors to the temple ruins was put together with the material collected by Van Stein Callenfels. His description is, however, no more than offering the contents. Krom has taken over, in the main explanations from this guide in his "Inleiding" (1.461-463). The photographs which Groneman published together with his text are as unsatisfactory as the text itself. The photos which were put at my disposal through the kindness of Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, the chief of Oudheidkundigen Dienst, are definitely better, although here and there it is difficult to make out the details.
- (514) Nymphaea caerulea. The other kind of lotus which can be seen on our reliefs in the Nelumbium speciosum, with red petals, Sanskrit padma. The third kind is the white lotus, actually a waterlily like the first one. It is the Nymphaea esculenta, Sanskrit kumuda. The first two kinds have been very naturally depicted on relief XIV.29d.
- (515) J. Ph. Vogel in Bijdr. 77:214: "This illustration is even more striking, when we consider that representations of sleeping Visnu are either totally or nearly missing in Hindu-

Javanese art". This "nearly" becomes redundant, as our relief actually does not represent the sleeping Visnu.

- (516) H. Krishna Sastri, South-Indian Images, 52 fig. 33.
- (517) J. Groneman, Tjandi Parambanan, 9, 10.
- (518) The aureoles in our reliefs have been treated in a strange fashion. There are cases of persons, who have been identified with certainty twice on the same panel, depicted in one with an aureole and in the other without. For instance on the last relief of the Siva temple (XXIV.48-50) Laksmana to begin with does not have one (XXIV. 48a), Rāma and Sugriva however do (XXIV.48b). After the transition Rama and Laksmana do not have one (50g), Sugrīva however does (50h). It is noteworthy that the change is determined to some extent by the stone panels. Laksmana is standing to begin with on a separate stone and has no gloriole, Rama and Sugrīva, together on the same stone, have it. It is exactly the same after the transition. This shows clearly that the depiction of aureoles was merely a matter concerning the sculptor rather than the person depicted on the stone. The other factors tend to prove that perhaps several labourers were working at the same time on the same relief panel. For example if we take the same relief, we see that the hair of the monkeys on XXIVf is shown in greater details than on XXIVc and h. This and others have been treated here in order to show that we should not attach too much importance to the existence of an aureole. I therefore leave out my comments on them in the description of the reliefs.
 - (519) Mahābhārata 3.276.
 - (520) Ram. 1.15.
 - (521) Raghuvamśa 10.14.
 - (522) OR. 1909:pl.123.
- (523) J. Brandes, Tjandi Singasari, pl. 54. H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Ethn. Mus. 5. pl. I.1. The Brahman of the Central Javanese Candi Banon is also depicted without a beard (OR. 1904/06 pl. 84).
- (524) Compare the Javanese Siva-Guru illustrations with the fig. 157, 158 in H. Krishna Sastri, o.c.
 - (525) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 83.
 - (526) B. Ziegenbalg, Genealogie, 192.
 - (527) Herpestes mungo. In Java we have a fox-red variety, which is called garanan.
 - (528) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 3.39.
 - (529) J. Groneman, o.c., 10.
- (530) A concise guide to the temple ruins in the Prambanan plain, the Dieng Plateau and Gedong Sanga, compiled by M. Lulius Van Goor, 31.

(531) We have to differentiate between crown and hairdo. Actually the crown itself, a covering for the head, can be seen very seldom on our relief. We do not know what was depicted on the missing pieces. The only example of this we saw on V.6c. In all other cases we have before us a hairdo. I, however, designated as such only there, where it can be clearly seen that the whole consists of properly tied up hair, as in the case of the hairdo of the hermits and the ascetics, jata. In other cases, I speak of a crown in order to differentiate between the two.

The most distinguished crown, i.e. those which decorate persons of the highest ranks on our reliefs, consists of five parts, whereby the lowest is covered by a diadem. The top-most of the five parts which are decorated with all kinds of jewels and are put together in circles, getting smaller while going up, shows mostly a lotus form.

A little less significant is the crown with four parts and less richly decorated. The topmost of the two circular layers is, however, somewhat higher and has at both ends a spiral figure. This kind of crown is very clear on XII b, f, g.

The jatā also has two forms, the larger and the smaller. One can immediately recognize this hairdo on the clear strands of hair. The most distinguished of its kind is worn by Viśvāmitra on IVb. The ascetics of less importance are marked by a simpler decoration of the jata. The pupils of the ascetics are depicted with their hair put together in a bun in one way or the other. Very young persons often have a flower in the hair, as is the custom even today in Bali. The hair is combed back smoothly in this case. It is not clear to me as to what is the significance of a diadem with a protuberance on one side and from which sometimes strands hang down (I.2 and XIV.29).

(532) No Hindu would come to a superior with a request without having something as a present, even if it be a flower. Thus we see in an illustration of the Mahābhārata manuscript in Munich Hanuman standing in front of Rāma with a flower (J. Hertel, Indische Märchen). But even older illustrations show the same. Thus the kneeling sabarī on one of the Rāma reliefs in Deogarh has a flower in her hand, in the same manner as on our reliefs (2283, see pl. 93).

Such examples can be multiplied. I will only draw attention to the meaning of the Javanese vot sekar or sari, which literally means "offering flowers", but which in practice is used in the sense of "to introduce oneself, to greet". The Old Javanese word muspa, from puspa, flower, is equated with anembah 'to greet respectfully' by VDT. Also see J. Brandes, Tjandi Djago, 86.

(533) Rām. 1.18.39:

abhyāgacchan mahātejā viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ sa rājno darśanākānkṣī dvārādhyakṣān uvāca ha śīghram ākhyāta mām prāptam kauśikam gādhinaḥ sutam.

Visvamitra, full of majesty, the great sage, arrived there. He demanded to see the king and said to the door-keeper: "Quick, announce my arrival, the son of Gadhi, the grandson of Kusika".

- (534) H. Kern, VG. 7.30. In the Chinese chronicles of the year 813 we learn about envoys from Java, who brought with them "Seng-k'i", who Ferrand opines are Negroes from Madagascar (JA.1922:7). Krom identifies the single curly haired man on the Barabudur relief as a Papua slave, and believes that this confirms the statement of the document (N. J. Krom, Barabudur, text 681, the relief is IIB33).
- (535) Wilson said about the hill and forest tribes of India that they "have countenances of a very African character" (Viṣṇu-purāṇa 1.15A). He quotes descriptions from different purāṇas, which speak of a small stature, jutting-out chin, a broad and flat nose, wide mouth, big ears etc. Most of these characteristics can also be applied to the "negro-slaves" of our reliefs.
 - (536) Compare the additions in the reliefs XII, XVIII and XIX.
 - (537) Compare the same kind of circular cushions in Moor, Hindu Pantheon, pl. VIII.
- (538) If I did not know how careful one has to be while deducing something from what one sees on photos, I could perhaps be led to attach importance to the apparent occurrences of this symbol of the sect. On IVb I think that it is possible to apply this symbol to Viśvāmitra and on IVa also to one of his pupils. It is formed like an ūrnā. It appears again on XVIIIb and on XXIIb.
 - (539) J. Groneman, o.c., 11.
 - (540) Gids 31.
- (541) See C. Duroiselle, The Stone Sculptures in the Anandatemple at Pagan, AR. 1913/14:63ff. pl. XXXVIII.
 - (542) Rām. 1.18.40.
- (543) Probably muncaks (Cervulus muntjac), the Rippface of the British, Javanese kidan.
 - (544) Civet-cat? (Viverra malaccensis), Jav. rase.
 - (545) O.c. II.
- (546) We shall have occasion to see very often on the reliefs of Candi Panataran, the Javanese way of giving a threat. The tarjani-mudra is known in the iconography of Java as in that of India.

- (547) O.c. II.
- (548) Gids 31.
- (549) I refer to the sacrificial rites of the pedandas (priests) in Bali, whereby at many points a flower held in the right hand plays a special role (hagem ghanta, hagem puspa). In the other hand is held a vajra, which however is not to be found anywhere on our reliefs. The damaged portion of Visvamitra's left hand does not certainly point to a vajra having been there. Cf. De Kat Angelino, Balineesche Moedras, pl. 39, 40.
 - (550) Gids 32.
 - (551) I am reminded hereby of Ram. 1.67.12. visvamitrah saramastu srutva janakabhasitam vatsa rāma dhanuh pasya iti rāghavam abravīt.

Viśvāmitra, who had heard the words of Janaka together with Rāma, said to Rāghava: "Rāma, my son, take a good look at the bow".

- (552) O.c. 12.
- (553) Gids 32.
- (554) Mah. 3.99.
- (555) Raghuvamśa 11.66.
- (556) Mahavîracarita, second act. Karttikeya is a fellow pupil.
- (557) I am not able to decide whether the Indian Manis pentadactyla is meant or the Jav. Manis javanica, Jav. trengilin. It would perhaps be important to know this exactly.
 - (558) Gids 32.
- (559) See P. De Kat Angelino, De Beteekenis der Pependjorans, Ned. Ind. O. en N. 1921:195ff. It is noteworthy that the pepenjorans have some connection with royal dignity, at least in the legend.
 - (560) Rām. 2.9.
- (561) See e.g. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, fig. 149, the Pakini Sirhhavaktra. On the Barabudur reliefs (05), such a dance is performed by men (N. J. Krom, Barabudur, II).
- (562) In this context one should notice the diadem, which is lying on the ground between two dancing girls. Perhaps it is the diadem which later forms the lower part of the crown of the king to be crowned. This is very possible, as we have already seen that the remaining part of the crown is actually a hairdo. In Barabudur the whole tiara is carried by servants (N. J. Krom, Barabudur, 685).
- (563) The only instrument which can be considered is the flute. The position of the right hand, however, remains unclear. In Barabudur 081, is a posture, which reminds one strongly of this and where it is known that we have a manuscript. But there is quite a

difference, whether the person is reading from a single leaf, as at Barabudur, or he holds the complete palmleaf manuscript in his hand, as it appears to be the case here:

(564) Gids 32.

(565) N. J. Krom, Barabudur, IIB18.

(566) C. Sachs, Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens, 68ff. fig. 48 (bāmyä), 50 (mrdanga).

(567) C. Sachs, o.c., 74ff. fig. 54.

- (568) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 85. Dapper, Azie 100.
- (569) H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, 471-472.
- (570) A. Weber, Über den Rajasūya, ABA. 1893.II. See also N. N. Law, Ancient Hindu Coronation and Allied Ceremonials (Rajābhişeka), IA. XLVIII.84ff.
- (571) O.c. 13. The hand posture of the queen and the open eyes of the king show quite clearly, that at least on the relief no one is sleeping. The error in scene II is even more blatant.
 - (572) Gids 33.
- (573) I would like to correct here an error in K. With, Java. These both these boys are reproduced as a fragment and in the caption to illustration No. 70 it is said that the fragment comes probably from the Visnu temple. This is, however, as we see not quite correct. It is Von Saher's fault that it is treated as a single fragment, since he has called it such in his "Versierende Kunsten in Neder. Indie".
- (574) Behind the head of the man we see further the hair of another head. Apparently other people are also present.
 - (575) Gids 33.
- (576) Widows take off their ornaments and wear white clothes. Monier Williams writes "I believe that in North India the widows do not have to cut off their hair. It is also a fact that the widows of the Ten-galai (a sect of Ramanuja) also did not have to undergo this indignity" (Brahmanism and Hinduism, 127). The woman on our relief has hair as far as we can see but has combed it back smoothly and tightly. The reason why I identify the man sitting next to her and having an equally ostentatious hairdo as Bharata is that, this man has his hand in my opinion also in a varamudra.
- (577) I refer to the Hindu-Javanese altar-stones, normally called yoni, for the form of scaffolding used in cremation (cf. K. With, Java, pl. 101, new edition pl. 73).
- (578) O.c. 14: "could this be a building stone and mean that the brothers are building a hermitage here? Or a baked ware which points to the simple food they had in the

wilderness?"

- (579) Gids 33.
- (580) Weber in his study on rājasūya considers the question whether putting on sandals could be an attribute of royal dignity, and refers in this connection to the fact prohibiting the king to walk without sandals for the rest of his life. He continues by saying in this context: "one is reminded of the role played by the sandals (pādukā) of Rāma, which acted as his substitute during the course of his exile in the forest" (ABA. 1893:59/3).
 - (581) Gids 33. The explanation has been termed uncertain.
- (582) Groneman, o.c. again has problems in the identification of persons as men or women, which is to say the least surprising coming from a doctor. He does not identify any one of the first three persons as women. Apparently it has escaped his notice that the long robe is still a clear mark of recognition in such cases, where the breasts have been damaged.
- (583) It is not quite clear whether the fruits shown here are those which are growing from the tree itself or whether they have been hung up on it as an offering and hence have the same function as baskets full of offering. I think that I can make out a knot in a rope from which they are hanging but, as I have already remarked above, one has to be careful about such details in the photographs.
 - (584) O.c. 15.
 - (585) Gids 33, 34.
- (586) A basket which is hung either from a tree or at a prapatan, cross roads, near a bridge, or perhaps even near the pakivan, W.C.
- (Smilonyx), which is found all over India. According to Brehm, this species of owl spends the day in the topmost branches of one or the other leafy tree. For the beard see relief XIIIg. The careful and detailed depiction of the feathers on the shoulders is the main reason why I find it difficult to accept the assumption of Van Stein Callenfels that they are nose-monkeys (Nasalis narvatus). I do not consider it impossible that they have a role to play in the story and therefore have been depicted as particularly large and having to some extent human features.
- (588) This episode occurs much earlier in Vālmīki, even before Bharata meets the banished ones (B 2.105). Similarly in the Agni-purāņa 1.15.36-37, even before the death of Dasaratha.

In the Raghuvamsa, the arrow is made of straw, which would be in agreement with our relief (XII.21-24). A trace of the blind bird can be found in the Hikayat Seri Rama our relief (XII.21-24). One is reminded further of a few other episodes, in which is mentioned a crow, (S 92).

which is followed by an arrow (S 68, R 95). Despite this the serial order remains surprising and I would personally suggest using the epic as the starting point of the order of scene: VIII, XI, IX, X or if one goes according to the Agni-purāna XI, VIII, IX, X.

- (89) We come across this pattern in the main temple to the right and left of the statue of Siva. See OR. 1909 pl. 121, as well as N. J. Krom, Inleiding; 3.39 even though it is less distinct. The same pattern also on relief XIV. Cf. further VII and IX.
 - (590) O.c. 15, 16.
 - (591) Gids 34.
- (592) Threatening with the left hand was considered in olden times and is considered even today in Java as extremely unfriendly and more insulting than with the right hand. Cf. Rāmāyana Kakavin 6.30 Tinudinani kivān len tarvineh śabda menak "He threatened her with his left hand and was unfriendly in his speech to her" Kern.
- (593) The actual mutilation has not been depicted here. We have it on one of the reliefs in Deogarh, No.2282, see pl. 92.
- (594) It is interesting that we see here only one animal, which differs from the south Indian sources, which mention a two-headed bull-antelope, and also from the hikayats where there is mention of two kijan (deer). One can very clearly see there one of the eyetooth, which can verily be as large as tusks, with which the Javanese deer protects itself against hunting dogs and human beings, as has been described picturesquely in the Nāgara-kṛtāgama 53.2.
 - (595) The complete equipment of a brahmana.
- (translated by Wheeler, History of India 2.366A) as: sword, shield, bow and arrows, battle axe, trident, battering-ram, noose, wooden club, short lance, spear, bludgeon with iron head, mace, fork, two-edged sword, poignard, dagger, javelin, tremendous scourge, circle, mace, the head of which was studded with long and sharp spikes. Ziegenbalg, Genealogie, 191 gives: vajrāyuddha (lightning weapon), ankuśa (elephant-goad), naga (serpent), agni (fire), isu (arrow), paraśu (axe), triśula (trident), khadga (sword), sukkumattadi (lash), yamadanda (staff of Yama), samutādu (long, thin sword), bow, shield, and in both the last hands symbols. The attributes of Rāvana on our relief conform thus with those of the Malabar Rāvana, if we substitute Ziegenbalg's nāga in place of pāśa (snare). But the Rāvana of Lara Jongran has fewer attributes, as he requires several hands to hold on to Sītā.

(597) See IAE. 10.22.

I should like to point to the fact that in Siam, a demon is seen as a carrier instead of a chariot (K. Döhring, Siam Art and Art-Industry, text 30).

In the Kailasa caves we see the chariot being drawn by asses (G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c. II pl. XX, XXIIB.

In Baldaeus Rāvaņa is carrying Sītā "on his palm" (A. J. de Jong, o.c., 91).

On the reliefs of Ba Puon, Ravana's chariot has become a palace floating through the air, carried by birds. Similarly on the reliefs at Angkor Vat (BCAI.1910: pl. XVII and 1911: pl. XIX). In neither of the reliefs do we find the depiction of our scene, on the contrary they show the return of Rama to Ayodhya. The scene with the abduction is not depicted at all.

- (598) E. Moor, Hindu Pantheon, 263.
- (599) G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., 2 pl. XXXII B.
- (600) The gods are born from a lotus flower.
- (601) We have a relief with this episode in Angkor Vat. Here also Kabandha has a head. Added to this he is depicted with his body sunk in the ground upto his chest, so that it is not possible to see the face on his stomach (BCAI. 1911: pl. XIV, pages 188-189).
- (602) Baldaeus gives a different version of the legend about the giant who is called Sittapanky in Dapper. But it is most improbable that this episode refers to Kabandha, just as that in R 110 (A. J. de Jong, o.c., 91).
- (603) Perhaps it is possible to identify the tip of the arrow pointing on. Comparison with other reliefs, where both the tip as well as the end of the arrow are depicted, shows us that we have here the end part with the feathers. If we look more closely we can make out the notch for the bow-string.
 - (604) Verslag Tweede Congres Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland 46, 47.
 - (605) The lotus is missing, which we saw on relief XIIIj. The woman is not sitting above, but behind the crocodile on the rocks.
 - (606) H. Fauche, Le Ramayana, 2.269. It is worthy of note that we do not find the sabarı episode (Rām. 3.74), which we would expect here in the translation by Fauche. Similarly in the hikayats (cf. J. T. Wheeler, History, 2.372).
 - (607) J. Groneman, o.c., 17, Gids 35.
 - (608) Mahaviracarita, 5th act, Anargha-raghava, 5th act.
 - (609) It is of course very possible that the reduction of glory and the rank of Laksmana has its reasons which are not known to us.
 - (610) If my opinion about the meaning of this and the following reliefs is correct, then we have the question, whether the sequence is in order. If we consider both reliefs in the light of the hikayats and find another episode between the two episodes which reminds one very much of the story of sabari. In any case, we do not know how Groneman had installed the relief. It seems probable that we have to assume the following sequence:

XV, XIV, XVI. But we have to be careful. Groneman mentioned this relief as the one, which was the first to be excavated. It is natural that he left it standing at its original place of finding. A different question is, how far the monkey in relief XIV can play a role and perhaps even depicts Hanumat. Possibly there may be a closer relationship through this with the episode of Hanumat's campaign and the crocodile in the hikayats. It is not impossible that this episode in a version of the legend used as the basis of the reliefs, served as an immediate introduction to the meeting, although I have not been able to find anything about this. Most opinions at present are too hypothetical, to draw any conclusion therefrom.

- (611) O.c. 17.
- (612) Gids 35.
- (613) On the walls of Ba Puon there is a relief, which Finot has described as follows: "At the foot of a tree, between rocks, a monkey is sitting in a melancholic posture with his head resting in his crossed arms. Two humans, carrying large bows, come towards him. The first stretches his arm to touch his shoulder and thus to wake him from his dreams" (L. Finot, BCAI. 1910:156 pl. XIV:3). The description is not very exact as both the men are coming towards the monkey from the back. Finot does not mention this although that is an important detail here as it clearly shows that they meet unintentionally by chance, just as we have on the reliefs of Lara Jongran.
 - (614) O.c. 17.
 - (615) A. J. de Jong, o.c., 92.
- (616) Perhaps also on Barabudur 05. This manner of carrying over the shoulder is illustrated among others by the Trṇavindu statue of Sinhasari, there it is a cāmara, flywhisk (J. Brandes, Tjandi Singhasari, pl. 80).
- (617) For such a test through shooting, see Barabudur Ia 49, in the story of Buddha's youth and Ib 17 in the story of prince Sudhana.
- (618) In the reliefs of Ba Puon the monkeys come to fisticuffs with each other (pl. XIV.4). In Angkor Vat, Valin has a sword in his hand (pl. XVI).
- (619) Coedès describes the scene as it occurs on the ruins of Angkor Vat: "In that moment, when the latter (Sugrīva) catches his brother by his hair and is just about to kill him, with a mighty swing of his sword, Rāma gets ready to shoot his arrow so that his ally can be assured of victory" (BCAI. 1911:189). The author, however, is guilty of inexactitude here, as on plate XVI Rāma's bow is empty and the arrow is resting in the side of "this latter" which clearly shows that here it is not Sugrīva, as Coedès writes, but Vālin.

The confusion is understandable, when one sees that Rama is holding together the remaining arrows in his right hand, so that it almost appears as if he is about to put in the arrow, but this holding of reserve arrows in the hand we also find on plate XIVc (No. 225, while killing the deer). The relief of Ba Puon with our scene, unfortunately, can be seen only half in Finot (BCAI. 1910: pl. XIV.5).

- The apron of leaves has become in the Balinese drawing, in which both the monkeys actually resemble each other like two drops of water, has become a creeper around Sugriva's tail. See pl. 214 and 215, which taken together depict the same scene as our reliefs.
 - (621) O.c. 18.
 - (622) Gids 36.
- (623) Brandes points to the kala-makara combination with which the frame is decorated (Tjandi Singasari 29*). His remark that the roof of the upper storey juts out further than that of the lower one, does not seem to me to be correct. On stone i one can clearly see that the trace of the lowest roof continues down to the left breast of the uppermost woman, whereas the edge of the uppermost roof does not reach further than her left hand. Thus the fact that it is supported cannot be explained by its jutting out. Further in the description of the raksasi, who is armed with stones, which she collects while rushing forward, I find it difficult to accept his opinion. According to me there can be no question of rushing forwards. If the woman right in front which Brandes seems to be describing is holding something in her hand at all (it is very difficult to distinguish anything), then it is in no way a stone as it is jutting out quite a bit from the hand. The other woman is also holding something in her hand which is similarly not a stone. I think that she is holding a branch.
 - (624) Gids 36.
 - (625) O.c. 18.
- (626) On the corresponding relief in Ba Puon we have the handing over of a ring (pl. XV. 3). Cf. also a scene in Angkor Vat, pl. XVII.
- (627) Brandes identifies the two persons on the stone a as Ravana and his queen. Since the first one is wearing woman's clothes and the second one has breasts, this identification is impossible. In any case, that Ravana would be depicted with just one head is totally in contradiction to the normal iconography in Lara Jongran (Tjandi Singasari 30*).
 - (628) According to Brandes a weasel (Tjandi Singasari 31*).
- (629) It is noteworthy, that on our reliefs there is no depiction of Hanumat's jump over the sea nor of his battle with the rakşasas, the killing of Akşa and his capture through Indrajit's arrow. Ba Puon also does not have the jump over the sea but perhaps some of the fights with the rakṣasas (Finot, o.c., pl. XV:1.2).

- (630) Brandes (o.c. 31*) is of the opinion that he can make out a necklace. This is not clear to me. Perhaps something has broken off, since he examined the relief.
 - (631) Also in the Bhagavata-purana 10.10.13.
- (632) In most of the tales of north and south India, a snake is mentioned, which has such a dazzling jewel on its head. Before it, however, comes out of the well to start its nocturnal wanderings, it takes off the jewel. This in turn is found by a prince who goes as a result into the well, into an underground palace. There he meets a princess, etc.
- (633) Brandes: pelican (o.c. 32*). It does not appear to me that this could be possible here. Though it is correct that the difference in size is always strictly adhered to but even that has its limits.
- (634) Brandes: kris (o.c. 302*). I do not accept this supposition because of the broad blades of the handle.
 - (635) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 1.479, 480.
 - (636) See N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 1.478 about the uncompleted stones at Lara Jongran.
- (637) For the description in different Rāma legends see H. H. Juynboll, Een episode uit het Oudindische Rāmāyana etc., Bijdr. 50.59ff.
- (638) A. Grünwedel, Alt-Kutscha, pl. XLIV, XLV, 2.83, 84. Although it does no actually fit into the context here, I will still like to mention in this connection what Grunwedel has said about the head and tail of the dragon on the lid of the sarcophagus. A similar custom prevails in Bali. The body is being enclosed before being cremated into an animal made out of wood. Thereafter it is cremated. I wonder whether we have something similar or at least reminiscences thereof. The Balinese custom would perhaps go back to Indian customs, as in the case of other ceremonies connected with cremation.
- (639) Raden Ngabehi Purbatjaraka is of the opinion that here the first gentle attempt is depicted, which is made to wake up the giant. In this case this relief should precede 2320.
- (640) In the ruins of Ba Puon, the fight scenes take up a lot of space (Finot, o.c., pl. XVI). (By the way I should like to correct a view which could give rise to false conclusions. Finot says: "In the epic Rama never fights in a chariot". This is in contradiction to Ram. 6.102, where Rama gets Indra's chariot and uses it in the further course of the battle).

Then follows, pl. XVII, the healing of Rāma and Laksmana through Garuda and immediately after that the return to Ayodhyā, the farewell of the monkeys, whereas pl. XVIII perhaps represents Sîtā's fire-ordeal and all that is connected with it. The combination and sequence are strange and the explanations as a result also pretty uncertain. Angkor Vat also has the fire-ordeal and return on the chariot Puspaka (pl. XVIII and XIX in Coedès), while there are also scenes from the battles (pl. X and XI). The version of the legends followed by the reliefs of Angkor Vat deviates sharply from those of Lara Jongran. The version used in Ba Puon is less so, in fact there is perhaps a meeting point in the meeting between Rāma and Sugrīva.

- (641) In Bangkok there are further some reliefs from Lara Jongran, which the Netherlands Indies Government presented to the King of Siam in 1896, besides many other pieces of art. I would like to refer to the last article of Th. Van Erp in Bijdr. 79.491ff. with regard to these pieces of art. He also gives their photographs. From the three "narrative reliefs" of Lara Jongran two belong most certainly in my opinion to the Kṛṣṇa-legend (pl. 5/2 and 3). The third is a Rāma relief, as is quite clear from the monkeys, but is of little importance for our study. That No. 2 belongs to the Kṛṣṇa-legend, I base it on a comparison with photo O. D. 2280. Relief No. 3 depicts some demons fighting against a prince, they are all of the same kind which does not occur in the legends. Perhaps the fifth relief which is lost, would have given more evidence for our purposes.
 - (642) P. J. Veth, Java, 2.106.
- (643) See the detailed description of the temple complex in N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 2.245-285.
 - (644) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 2.281.
- (645) Inscription of the year 1197 (OJO. LXXXIV) hails from Sarveśvara II Śrńga of Kediri, those to be considered further are Jayanagara (1309-1328), Tribhuvanā the Queen-Regent (1328-1350), Hayam Vuruk (1350-1385) and Vikramavarddhana (1389-1429), all kings of Majapahit.
- (646) Nāgarakṛtāgama 17.5, translated by Kern: "He goes otherwise to Palah, worships humbly and respectfully at the feet of the Divine Lord of the Mountain". Similarly 61.2: "And in Śaka 1283, in the month of vaiśākha, His Majesty the king went with his retinue to Palah, to worship there".
- (647) J. Brandes, Tjandi Singasari 9*ff. The photos have not been numbered in the correct sequence of the reliefs, so that no. 1 in the series corresponds to no. 96 of the photos.
- (648) J. Brandes, Tjandi Singasari en de Wolkentooneelen van Panataran. The last purports to be a study of East Javanese ornaments. I refer to these without any further comments.
- (649) M. Muusses writes in "Willekeur of Regel", that the order of the series of narrative reliefs going against the pradaksina, points to something similar to the custom

that in death ritual everything is done contrary to what is otherwise usual. She puts the question whether this reversed order of the reliefs, so common in East Java, could not mean that the edifice was considered as a temple of cremation. At Panataran, in the lowermost terrace is the prasavya (circumambulation of the building from the left hand), following on the second terrace of pradaksina. Perhaps this could lead to the fact that we have here a temple both for cremation and for worship (OV. 1922/4:130ff.). The contrast is then to compare and to attempt to explain through the so-called funeral statues. It appears to me, that especially with regard to these statues there can be no question of the "union of two components which is incompatible for our European sensibility". Then these statues are actually not statues of gods, but are very clearly nothing else but funeral statues. The outer appearance may in many cases be similar to that of a statue of a god, in particular of the god in which the departed soul has merged. Such a statue is not the same as the statue of a god and is differentiated from that by very definite characteristics. Therefore one cannot speak of a union between two different components, however different they may be for our sensibility. This apparent contradiction of prasavya and pradaksina on the same temple becomes an expression of a dual purpose (funeral- and worship- temple). It can be compared with the so-called Javanese syncretism: the union of Sivaism and Buddhism under one banner. This syncretism is more so in theory than a reality. It would be correct to call it so, if the term Buddhism in the Hindu-Javanese period reminded one of a Buddhism as is known to us from the first centuries of this religion in India. The designation "Buddhism" is very misleading for Java. It would be better to call it: Tantrism with a Buddhistic base. But Tantrism is as much Sivaite as Buddhistic and hence the differentiation has to be looked into very carefully. They are very similar in character and were already so on Indian soil. Whether the mantras got their power through Siva or Buddha it was not so material. The main point was always the mantras themselves, in short the magic practices. Sivaite or Buddhistic is nothing more than a difference of system of magic.

(650) Of the typical Indian mudrās we find a few at Lara Jongran. In place of that we have mudrās which ward off magically and other finger-positions such as the mano fica passim, the nudin, the manner of threatening with the middle and fore-fingers (pl. 119, 122, 133, 141, 153, 160, 162, 163, 184, 199, 109, 110?, and 116), mano cornuta (181, 186?). I would also like to point to the gesture of buta on plate 203, who is holding

his hand in front of the mouth (closing one of the openings of the body?). We find most of the hand gestures again in the wayang (cf. J. Kats, Babadipun Paṇḍawa, no. 2.II is an example for mano fica and 20.25 for mano cornuta).

- (651) This illustration as well as plate 124 show in a most welcome way, how the candis looked like at the time. Both these types are more or less identical with the naga temple and with the temple having the year marked on it, which was found in the complex and restored (N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 3.78, 85, 86).
- (652) Brandes identifies it with a conch-shell. I am however of the opinion that the man is holding an object between his thumb and forefinger, which looks like a small branch, while rest of the fingers are pointing upwards. I do not know what all this represents.
- (653) Rām. Kak. 8.136: vēkasan madēg ta sira san daśānana/ manunus tevek tudini devi jānakī/etc. "Finally Daśānana stood up and taking out his sword pointed threateningly at Janaka's daughter".
- (654) Rām Kak. 8.196: nya ta simsimnirārapaveh nire hhuluncihnā donya "Look here at this ring, which he gave me as a sign of recognition".
- (655) Brandes has drawn our attention that Hanumat's gesture (sembah) could mean that he is receiving something, perhaps, the ring of Sītā, in order to hand it over to Rāma as a mark of recognition. We, however, do not find it necessary to think about this, as in the episode where this should have occurred and which is depicted on plate 175, we do not find any such thing.
- (656) The small guard on plate 116 is carrying a weapon. One can see several more on plates 121, 144 and 202. It looks like the cross between a kudi and an arit. It is not found in the relief of Lara Johgran. The forms of the same are also different from one panel to the other so that those on plate 144 and 202 resemble more a bědog, and that plate 161, a kudi. One has to look at these kinds of weapons above all as magic weapons. Cf. in this connection C. Snouck Hurgronje, Iets over Koedjang en Badi, TBG. XLVII.387 and even more 390ff. G. A. J. Hazeu, Iets over Koedi en Tjoendrik, TBG. XLVII.398. From both these articles it is apparent that this kind of weapons, to which we also add most of those depicted on reliefs, had a magical protective significance and very often still have it.
- (657) Rām. Kak. 9.26a, ana ta vaneh vvilmakuda tumandan "Other butas attacked horses".
 - (658) Ram. Kak. 9.41 ri pējahnya kabeh sava ya magulinan sagunun juga gōnnya paḍa ta ya kanin humili mĕtu rāhnya ri muka ya mabān kadi ḍātu saken girivivara mulčk/

"At the death of all these, the dead bodies fell down in a heap as large as a mountain, all with large wounds. From their wounds the blood flowed out red like the ores come out of the caves in the mountains".

(569) The dog apparently belongs to Ravana, as it appears again on plate 164. In this connection it is interesting that apparently in India too, Ravana is also depicted with a dog as can be seen on the plate in W. Ridgeway, The Dramas etc. (fig. 21). I should like to refer in connection to the two servants in the form of dogs in R 94. Once again a warning not to give too much significance to the imagination of the sculptors!

(660) Rām. Kak. 50d, sempal bāhunyānkena mati kapisan rāhnya muñcarya mūrcca "His arm broke and as a result of this he was fatally wounded. He started bleeding and fell

down unconscious".

Among the arrows, with which Hanuman is attacked, an important one is the crescent arrow. Such a weapon is also mentioned in the Kakavin (2.34 and 9.47). But I find the weapon in Vālmīki (Rām. 1.26) as well, when Rāma kills Taṭakā with it. These kinds of arrows are always mentioned in connection with Rama. This can be clearly seen from the plate depicting Rāma's battle with Rāvana in G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, o.c., 2 fig. 26. Is it a coincidence that Rama's arrow can also mean the waxing moon and Ravana's the waning moon? In the Rama pantomimes in India these are also used in the same way (Magasin Pittoresque, 1841:17). Cf. also H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Ethn. Mus. 5. pl. IX fig. 2 (1652/3). The crescent-form did not perhaps have its origin in its practicality from a modern point of view but was probably chosen from the magical point of view. It possesses an extremely strong protective power (cf. S. Seligmann, Der böse Blick, 2 sub voce).

(661) Among the fish swimming in the sea, there is also a sword-fish Xiphias gladius, Javanese cucut pedan, and not saw-fish as Brandes had wrongly stated.

(662) Rām, Kak. 9.51, 52: huvusnyān pējah syaksa de san hanūmān/ lumumpat siren sagara nkan paradyus/ ri denyānmanel vetni sove nirāpran/ matinyārparen sāgarānmandi mogha// 51. huvustrpti madyus mesat sighra lunha/ 52a.

"After Si Aksa had been killed by Hanumat, the latter jumped into the sea to take a bath. Because he had become fatigued due to the long battle, he wanted to go to the sea to bathe in it . . . After he had refreshed himself through bath, he jumped up and went back quickly".

(663) Brandes considers plate 155 as an independent relief. In my opinion, the animals fleeing away feave no doubt that it has to be taken together with plate 156. In this case the rule of Brandes, that the reliefs in the corners belong together has to be revised, and my view that plate 107 goes together with 105 and 106 can be correct.

(664) Rām. Kak. 9.52b maluy rin taman rūgaken pārijāta/
kayuh pānnya sempal ruru ronya lumrā/
lavan vvahnya kegu kabobel tibā bāp/ etc.

"He returned to the garden in order to destroy the heavenly tree. The branches of the trees were broken, the leaves were scattered all over and the fruits were shaken off. They fell down to form heaps on the ground".

- (665) Without saying so in so many words, Brandes gives the impression in his "Drie Leeuwekoppen en face uit de Kedoe", NBG. 1902:CX and in particular CXIV, as if the horns of the Javanese mythical lions arose out of their manes (cf. also OR. 1903:25). That this view is not correct, is clearly shown by the rows of the lion heads on the temple of Mokaljī in Chitor (photograph in V. A. Smith, History of Fine Art, 204 fig. 147).
- (666) For the architectural details and drawings of this building as well as of the other smaller constructions in the reliefs, vide OR. 1903: pl. 39, 41, 43, 45.
- (667) Ram. Kak. 9.60b těkā rajaputrendrajit kyāti rin rāt etc. "Then came prince Indrajit, famous in the world".
- (668) Brandes is of the opinion that Indrajit's vehicle could be the horse of Sūrya; as it has seven heads. In my opinion, however, the animal does not have several heads but much more hoods of a snake. In Vālmīki Indrajit has a chariot, drawn by four black horses. In the Kakavin there is no mention of such a strange horse, though he does have a chariot. 9.62ab rathanyādbutāgon ya malva ya mādrs/ lavan tunganansankēpan yeka mīrya/... "His chariot was big, broad and fast and was complete with a decorated team of fiery horses..."
- (669) Brandes identifies him with Vibhisana. At any rate this person has a higher rank than the one on plate 127, as we can see here the sacred thread like the one of Ravana, whereas on 127 we have a necklace of skulls.
- (670) Only by treating the reliefs together can we overcome the difficulty of explaining the burning roof on plate 168, which Brandes had thought, but it was a mistake.
 - (671) Brandes: bale kamban, drifting bale.
- (672) In the history of the Sung dynasty, also from earlier time, we read (W. P. Groeneveldt, Notes 16): "These houses are beautiful and decorated with yellow and green bricks". The report refers to Java between 960 and 1279.

- (673) Rām. Kak. 9.9a: tatkālanyāntēka nkā ri kavekasanikan vānarānher kabehnya/mansö san jāmbavānangada milu ta siran nīla harsānpanunsun/... "When he came back to the place where he had left the monkeys, all of them came to pay their respects, in front Jāmbavat and Angada, followed by Nīla, all full of desire to meet ..."
- (674) Hanumat still had the arrow in the wound, which was shot by Indrajit into his thigh. We can see this in the reliefs on plates 160, 161, 162, 163, 166, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174 and 175. Brandes does not mention the plates 162, 171, and 172.

(675) As has been mentioned earlier, I have sometimes put together the reliefs as complete scenes rather differently from Brandes. The following list may be adduced to make this clear. (B. is the list of Brandes, the numbers are taken from Brandes, Tjandi Singasari.)

B		D		В		В	
В		В			WW17		
94 I	I	14 XII	XII	40 XXIII	XXV	66 -	
95 -	-	15 -	XIII	41 XXIV	-		XXXIX
96 II	-	16 XIII	XIV	42 -	XXVI	68 –	-
97 -	II	17 -	-	43 -	-	69 –	-
98 -	-	vix 81	-	44 XXV	XXVII	70 -	-
99 -	-	19 -	xv	45 XXVI	XXVIII	71 -	-
100 III	III	20 -	-	46 XXVII	XXIX	72 -	-
IOI IV	IV	21 -	XVI	47 -	-	73 XXXVIII	XL
102 V	-	22 XV	XVII	48 XXVIII	XXX	74 -	÷
103 -	-	23 -	-	49 -	-	75 -	_
104 -	V	24 XVI	.XVIII	50 -	-	76 -	- '
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2 -		28 XVII	XIX	54 XXX	XXXII	80 -	_
3 VII	VII	29 -	-	55 XXXI	XXXIII	8r -	_
4-	-	30 -	-	56 XXXII	XXXIV	82 XLI	XLIII
5 VII	II AIII	31 -	-	57 XXXIII	XXXV	83	
6 -	-	32 -	=	58 XXXIV	XXXVI	84 -	_
7-	-	33 XVIII	XX	59 -	_	85 XLII	XLIV
8 IX	IX	34 -		бо ххху	XXXVII	86 -	
9 X	x	35 XIX	XXI	61 - ·	_	87 XLIII	
10 -	_	36 XX	IIXX	62 -	_	88 XLIV	
II XI	XI	37 XXI	XXIII	63 -	_	89 XLV	
12 -	-	38 -	XXIV	64 -		90 XLVI	
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- (676) The pieces in question between VIII.85 where Hanumat sees Ravana sleeping and observes the Puspaka-chariot (84), and XXIII.10, when Kumbhakarna has been killed. The piece covers almost half of the whole Kakavin, which speaks eloquently for the popularity of just these episodes which are depicted very much in the style of wayang. In Vālmīki the story does not take up more space than a quarter of the sargas which constitute the contents of the first six books (the contents of the seventh book do not occur in the Kakavin).
 - (677) Rām. Kak. 9.80.
- (678) Though there are many points of agreement but there are also differences. For instance, the Kakavin talks of Ravana as prasupta, sleeping, whereas here the king is making merry with his wives when Hanumat observed him as a spy. But we also know, that sometimes the text is changed to agree with the reliefs. The sculptor would probably have preferred to depict Ravana's wives in the reliefs rather than the king sleeping, although Hanumat does not now play the same role. In the Kakavin 8.69 it is further stated that Hanumat assumed the form of a rākṣasa, while going through Lankā: mengepsiranvil. If one had wanted to depict this in the reliefs, it would not have been possible to distinguish the monkey from the other butas. It is safest in my opinion if we accept the fact that the same version was followed.
 - (679) J. Brandes, Tjandi Singasari, 12*.
 - (680) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 2.460.
 - (681) The height of the reliefs of the first terrace of Candi Panataran is about 0.70m.
- (682) That the Indonesians were capable of representing something typical while being sharply natural even in later times, is proven by the figures of the doorkeepers of the puri of Klungkung, of the earlier palace of Deva Agung of Bali. These represent Dutchmen with Jenevergläschen and counting money!
- (683) See Brandes, Tjandi Singasari, 46*. But one has to be careful in view of Brandes' tendency to ascribe a greater influence to the Chinese than is warranted.
 - (684) OR. 1901:10.
 - (685) Tjandi Singasari, 38*.
 - (686) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 2.259.
- (687) One is reminded, that the stimulus for Impressionism came from the East, Japan, and that the French pioneers of Impressionism were much influenced by the art of this island, which was centuries old. But both forms of art are very different from what we see in Java. There everything fell under the dictates of an impressive treatment, but

in Java on the temple of Panataran only the clusters of clouds have followed this principle.

- (688) I have already pointed out to the possible purpose behind this. In this connection I am thinking apart from this kind of arrow about the kudi- or bedog-shaped knives and also about what G. Snouck Hurgronje has written about such weapons: "We know that the natives have very different requirements, regarding their weapons than a normal European weaponsmith. All kinds of peculiarities in the outer form as well as in the joining of the different parts like the handle, blade, scabbard and other parts which need not have any relevance to the actual efficacy of the weapon, however, assuring the owner, victory, invincibility, security, happiness and love, profits in business etc. There are small kris which protect a house from thieves or fire, which assure an official the goodwill of his superior and guarantee quick promotion" (TBG. XLVII. 390). The protective power of such weapons is expressed even more clearly in what Hazeu writes: "Therefore he (the peasant) considers it desirable to walk around his rice-field in the evenings after sunset with his kudi trantan in hand or in his belt, so that the "smell" of his kudi drives away the pests and the spirits of disease who are perhaps waiting around the place" (TBG. XLVII. 405).
 - (689) K. Th. Preuss, Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst, Globus 86, 87.
- (690) Cf. F. D. E. Van Ossenbruggen, Het Primitieve Denken, Bijdr. 71.49:"Together with the above-mentioned association of ideas, there is a widely spread conception that the genitals and nakedness belong to the most powerful means of warding off evil". We can follow the development of the phallus cult in Hindu-Javanese art, quite exactly, the rākṣaṣa figure of Suravana goes back quite clearly to the dwarf bearer, which we can see on most of the monuments in India, even on old stūpas (cf. Foucher, L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique, 2 fig. 464). There too they are similarly bent down and carry upon their arms held up high one or the other god figure. The examples for this are so numerous, that I do not need to quote them here. We find this figure in Hindu-Javanese art, inter alia, on Candi Lara Jongran (OV. 1920/2.6, 7). In this case the phallus is not very prominent and the whole figure has more the function of a bearer. In Suravana, the phallus is very prominent and the bearer function has been forgotten. Because the arms are not stretched out upwards but are resting on the knees so that the figure shows great similarity with the skull korvars from the eastern archipelago! (cf. also photo Kinsbergen 239).

- (691) The Indonesians quite often use a "near each other" when actually one would expect an "after each other". I can show this on our reliefs by pointing to the heads of butas, e.g., the head on plate 119 where one can see much more of the face than is actually possible due to the indication of the head. This can be seen even more clearly on one of the reliefs from the back side of the Candi Kedaton (OV. 1921/1: pl. 2:2). There Garuda is depicted swallowing human beings, which one can see one after the other in his beak. The position of the eyes point to an abridgement but the beak is shown in profile. This is an example which goes much beyond that of the buta in Panataran (plate 227).
 - (692) W. Worringer, Formprobleme, 18.
- (693) Although not actually a relief, yet I would like to mention the statue in the collection of the Batav. Genootschap No. 255 (photo OD. 521), which depicts the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, exactly like the Balinese drawings published by H. H. Juynboll (Bijdr. 54 plate). Rāvaṇa is sitting here on his demons. The statue is very recent (pl. 220). It is doubtful if photo OD. 713 represents the Kumbhakarṇa episode.
- (694) Before I go over to the reliefs of Panataran, I would like to mention yet another relief on which one can see monkeys and which could thus perhaps be a Rāma relief. Van Kinsbergen opines that this represents Hanumat supplicating the gods for help (pl. 88). The origin is uncertain, but a comparison with the reliefs of Jala Tunda makes it possible that this piece probably came from either this monument or at least from another one similar in style. The quadrangular form goes somewhat against the first supposition.

It is surprising, that here the monkeys are depicted as hermits and ascetics who are asking for something from three other persons. In the middle there is a human hermit (?).

Taking all things together, the fact of its belonging to the Rāma legends seems very doubtful. The fact that other scenes with monkeys are missing would also tend to confirm this view. Inspite of this, the relief is important because of the hairdo of the figure, sitting at the very back and also because of the style.

- (695) R. J. Wilkinson, Malay Beliefs, 29.
- (696) G. H. Wilken, VG. 3.19.
- (697) W. Crooke, Popular Religion, 1.247.
- (698) J. Brandes, Tjandi Singasari, 22*.
- (699) J. Brandes, Tjandi Djago, 39.
- (700) A. Foucher, L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique, 2.351 fig. 463.
- (701) F. D. E. Van Ossenbruggen, o.c., 44: "If one wants to think of non-material as

materialised, then nothing is really better than a flame, which although perceptible to the senses, represents something fleeting, something without a corpus. Thus the representation of the spirit or the soul in the form of a flame is to be met with everywhere..."

- (702) I do not, naturally, refer to the flames in the uppermost reliefs, where the story of Mucukunda is depicted. These are actual flames. I mean the hundreds of small spiral flames, which we can see on almost all reliefs of the terraces.
- (703) To begin with probably on or in the aureole of the figures of the pantheon. The border of flames all around the halo which extends over the whole surface in different statues is the same as the flames of the statue from Kabul. The ancient magical significance is clearly apparent in the spiral figure above the head of Darbha Malliputra, who is climbing towards heaven on the painting of silk by Chou Chi-Chang and Lin T'ing-Kuei (illustrated in M. Anesaki, Buddhist Art, pl. XXXVII).

From China the motif on cloth became more popular and came to Persia. In the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum in Berlin we have two paintings on glazed tiles from Ispahan (approximately 1600) on which there is a robe, decorated with our flame motif (nos. 170, 171).

The motif then spread even further west and we see it again on the Psalter of David of Paris which was made in the year 1586 for the chapel of Henry III (Bibl. Mazarine). There it is shown in parallel rows around a skeleton, carrying a scythe and hour-glass.

In Java this motif has never been forgotten and we find it, inter alia, as the tip of a royal lance (Ethn. Museum Dresden), whereas in Siam it is considered to be an auspicious symbol even today as the ulalom.

- (704) Such a formal depiction of rocks is not something especially oriental. One can see it, if not in the same measure, in our Middle Ages. The representation of the rocks in the painting by Fra Filippo Lippi "Maria worshipping the Child" (Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Berlin) and also in the painting "Madonna in the Forest" by the same painter (Palazzo degli Uffizi, Florence) is surprisingly similar.
- (705) I am restricting myself here to the reliefs. The fact that in the meantime all art is subject to then changed basic principles of fundamental laws, may be culled from what is written in Bijdr. 79.323ff.
- (706) B. Laufer, Das Citralakshana, 166. Cf. also J. Brandes, Pararaton, text 12.19, translation 56 note 5, where the Javanese hero Ken Anrok can possess this characteristic.
 - (707) O. Walter, Raghuvamsa, 84.
 - (708) In this case tattoo marks? (IA. XXXIII pl. XX).

(709) In this connection I differ from Laufer's view when he states (Das Citralakshana 37): "Painting was not just a material process but was a spiritual act having a direct effect on the soul of the painter or artist". Citralakshana says: "Painting the eyes of the gods brings wealth and prosperity to the painter and he who has painted such a face will always have material goods".

I am however of the opinion that getting wealth and prosperity, which purports here to be the success of the artist, has very little to do with the soul of the painter. In a country like India material happiness is something which is all the more desired when it is difficult to achieve and lack of it brings more misery. The contradictions there are so marked, that it is impossible for most people to achieve such material prosperity, thus the theory of rebirth is perhaps the only means to make the people somewhat resigned to their fate. This can lead to an appearance of indifference towards prosperity, but everyone who is to some extent well read in literature, knows better. Happiness and wealth in India are the same. In this context, nothing is considered too mean to achieve this happiness and wealth, and the laksanas which promise such happiness, have almost nowhere else ieceived such a minute study. On the contrary we have numerous examples of how the omission of putting auspicious signs on to the statues of the gods have lead to misery.

For instance, we read in Brhatsamhitā (translated by Kern, VG. I.49): "When the statue of a god is complete with the necessary characteristics then they will in turn bring happiness". A little further on: "A statue (of the Sun) with excessively long limbs presages danger from monarchs, a statue having very short limbs causes insecurity for the patron, a statue with a thin stomach causes hunger, a weak one leads to the loss of wealth.

"If it has a wound somewhere then it presages the death of the sculptor by the sword. If the statue is leaning towards the left, then it can cause the death of his wife, and if it leans towards the right, it destroys life.

"It causes blindness, when its eyes are pointing upwards; it causes sorrow, when pointing downwards. These good and evil signs, which are mentioned about the statues of the Sun god, apply equally to statues of all gods".

In my opinion the prophecies regarding happiness and wealth in the Citralaksana and similar such treatises are most definitely remnants of an original doctrine of omens.

(710) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 2.259. The designation "baroque" and "impressionistic" were used for the first time by Brandes, "classic" for the first time by Roufaer (De Gids 1901).

- (711) F. D. K. Bosch, Een Hypothese omtrent den oorsprong der Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst, Handelingen Eerste Congres Solo 1919, printed in Ned. Indie O. en N. 1923. (712) A. Schmarsow, Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft, 276, 277.
- (713) M. Dvořák, Idealismus und Naturalismus in der gotischen Skulptur und Malerei, Historische Zeitschrift 119.24.
 - (714) M. Dvoťák, o.c., HZ. 119.34.
 - (715) M. Dvořák, o.c., HZ. 119.194.
 - (716) M. Dvořák, o.c., HZ. 119.229.
 - (717) N. J. Krom, Inleiding, 1.141.
 - (718) F. D. K. Bosch, o.c.
- (719) There has never been a conscientious effort to examine the reliefs and sculptures of Barabudur according to Indian or Indonesian traditions. While this has been partly done e.g. in the recently published article by T. Van Erp, Voorstellingen van vaartuigen op de reliefs van den Boroboedoer, Ned Ind. O. en N. 1923. It has in the main been established that the things depicted are not Indonesian. In my opinion the reason why sometimes the contrary is postulated has above all been that modern Java became the starting point. This has of course taken over into its culture a mass of Hinduistic features and preserved them, although exactly how much, is still not sufficiently known. If one, however, compares the reliefs with the pictures of Indonesian life in those regions of the archipelago, where the influence of Hinduism is either not at all present or at least is not very marked then one can notice at once how great the difference actually is.
- (720) A mistake of many archaeologists, which has also led to this misunderstanding, has been that present day life of the people in the area in which the ancient monuments were found, was considered too insignificant for gaining knowledge about the monuments themselves. It was considered enough to work on the facts of the monuments themselves without having a constant personal connection with the people around. As elsewhere such a specialization has most certainly its dangers in archaeology as well.
- (721) I would like to come back here to what I have already said earlier about the apparent problem of the cessation of the reports from central Java. If one is of my opinion that the architects in this region were neither Javanese nor Malayans but Hindus (Indians) and that their culture, which reached its efflorescence in the archipelago during the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, was non-Indonesian, then it is not surprising that the reports suddenly came to an end. It must have its logical explanation in the cessation of this culture in Java.

There are still traces of Hindus of the older Brahmanical settlements in Dieng, Gedong Sanga etc. They were perhaps all the more dependent on Javanese soil because of the efflorescence of the kingdom of Śrivijaya. These could be the direct ancestors of the Hindu-Javanese in East Java. They definitely benefited from the flourishing culture of the Śailendras and after their decline adopted their powers both literally as well as metaphorically. At least in this way can I explain to myself the establishment of a candi like Lara Jongran. Since its actual "epicentre" lay in East Java, this was then nothing more than an "dépendance". But the driving force of Central Javanese culture and art, which had close contacts with the culture of Śrivijaya which was grounded in the motherland, had disappeared and therefore the importance of this "dépendance" had significance sooner or later. But we should not think that the latter was nothing but a continuation of Dieng and Gedong Sanga, since even though both these places were considered holy, it is quite clear from the inscriptions that they did not have any political significance and that we have to postulate the political centre of gravity in East Java before the rise of the Śailendras.

- (722) K. With, Java, 1920:120.
- (723) F. D. K. Bosch, o.c., 155.
- (724) Divyāvadāna XXX, XXXI Sudhana-kumār-āvadāna.
- (725) V. A. Smith, A History of India, 367.
- (726) A. Progr. Report Central Circle, 1920-21:5, 37.
- (727) V. A. Smith, o.c., 357, 358.
- (728) V. A. Smith, o.c., 312.
- (729) J. Kats, Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, 45:40a: pāt lvir nin yoga, pavekas dan ācaryya śrī Dignaga. . . "Yoga is fourfold (according to) the teachings of the preceptor, the holy Dignaga. . ."
- (730) Sarat Chandra Das, Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, 50: "On account of these divers attainments which moved his mind variously in different directions, he resolved to go to Achárya Chandrakírti the High Priest of Suvarnadvipa. ... At this time Suvarnadvipa was the headquarter of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest was considered as the greatest scholar of his age". Taken from the life history of Atisa in Tibetan. See G. Ferrand, L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya, JA. 1922:178.
 - (731) V. A. Smith, History of Fine Art, pl. XLVII.
- (732) The use of the name Rāma in royal titles is equally frequent. After the first millenium the name occurs quite often in inscriptions both as a proper name as well as in comparisons. One example may suffice. In an Old Kannada inscription of the year 1074, of the time of Someśvara II of Cālukya, we read in the translation of J. F. Fleet (Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions IA. X.129, lines 8/9): "he who was a very Hanumanta to the

Rama who was the glorious Bhuvan-aikamalla-deva..." I would like to point to something similar for the archipelago in the Calcutta inscription of Erlanga.

Kern, VG. 7.93 Sanskrit side 12 "From him came out a very beautiful child called Erlanga-deva, like Rama from Dasaratha, (and) even more like him because of his excellent qualities, etc."

One of the oldest examples for the use of "Rāma" in the name of a king is probably Rāmadatta, the name of a native prince of Mathurā in the first century B.C.; or perhaps according to Vogel (A. Progr. R. Northern Circle 1909/10:9) in the second century. A.D. One does not naturally know exactly whether in actual fact our Rāma is meant here.

- (733) Although it does not have any connection to the depictions of Rāma, and also is not actually relevant here, I should like to mention what Ramaprasad Chanda has mentioned in his "The Indo-Aryan Races", as in my opinion, it is misleading. It is a quotation from the Avadāna-śataka (B. B. III 1.195), which is assigned to 100 A.D. by Speyer. There is no mention of our Rāma, but of Rāmadevatās. Ramaprasad calls this a "deity called Rāmadevatā" and gives the impression as if these godheads had actually something to do with Rāma Dāśarathi. The quotation that he adduces, which I repeat here, makes it sufficiently evident that something else is meant: so'putraḥ putr-ābhinandī/śiva-varuṇa-kubera-śakra-b(r)ahmādīn anyāmśca devatā-viśeṣān āyācate/ tadyathā rāmadevatā vana-devatāś catvara-devatāḥ śṛṅgāṭaka-devatā vali-pratigrāhika-devatāḥ sahajāḥ sahadhārmmikā nityānubuddhā api devatā ayācata//.
- (734) Ancient statues of Rāma are very few in Java, just as statues of Hanumat. The inscription of Diyu mentions one "śrī bhaṭāra Rāma pratiṣṭa" (a statue of Rāma), but it is not quite clear whether this is our Rāma (OJO. XCIV, XCV. 11. In XCIII.20 there is mention of "The Rāma who purifies everything": bhaṭāra Rāma sarvapavitra"). I do not quite accept the authenticity of the bronze statues of Rāma and Hanumat in the Leiden Museum. Perhaps they are forgeries by Dieduksman (H. H. Juynboll, Cat. Ethn. Mus. 5.65, 244).

A large stone statue of Hanumat in the British Museum indicated as probably coming from Java, does not most certainly pertain thereto.

In Bali, on the other hand, one comes across several statues of Rāma, but they are not statues used for worship.

(735) We can follow even further back this type of tree with festoons of leaves from which fruits hang down. We have precursors of the same in the reliefs of Sanchi and Gandhara. See A. Foucher, L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara, 2. fig. 470, 471 and 435, 438.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. ABA. AKBA.

Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich

Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

AMG. Annales du Musée Guimet. Paris.

Annual Progress Report. Archaeological Survey of India. A. Progr. R.

Annual Report. Archaeological Survey of India. AR.

Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine. Paris. BCAI.

Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient. Hanoy. BEFEO.

Bijdr. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.

'sGravenhage.

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Grundriss Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. Strassburg.

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Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden. IAE.

JA. Journal Asiatique. Paris.

Journal of the Americal Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut. JAOS.

JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JSBRAS. Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Singapore.

Mah. Mahābhārata.

OD.

MVB. Museum für Völkerkunde. Berlin.

MW. M. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Oxford. 1899.

NBG. Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderigen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia-'sGravenhage.

Ned. Ind. O. en N. Nederlandsch-Indie, Oud en Nieuw. 'sGravenhage.

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Fotos Oudheidkundige Dienst van Nederlandsch-Indie.

Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. See J. Brandes. 010.

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Onderzoek op Java en Madoera. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genoot-

schap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

OV. Oudheidkundig Verslag. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap

van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

R. Hikajat Seri Rama, edited by Roorda Van Eysinga.

Rām. Rāmāyaņa of Vālmīki.

Rām, Kak. Old Javanese Rāmāyaņa Kakawin.

REML. Rijks Ethnographisch Museum zu Leiden.

RK. Rama Këling.

S. Hikajat Sĕri Rama, edited by Shellabear.

SBE. Sacred Books of the East. Oxford.

SK. Sĕrat Kaṇda ning Ringgit Purwa.

SKM. Sĕrat Kaṇda. Malayan version.

SKPA. Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Berlin.

TBG. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Vokenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia-

'sGravenhage.

TP. T'oung Pao. Leiden.

VBG. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Weten-

schappen. Batavia.

VDT. H. N. Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek. 4 Bd.

Batavia 1897-1912.

VG. Verspreide Geschriften. (After the names of the concerned authors).

VKA. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling

Letterkunde. Amsterdam.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

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